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1555—1556.

EDITED BY

RAWDON BROWN.

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1877.



1556.

It has been said to me, on good authority, about the cause which in great measure induced the Imperialists and the French (questi) to authorize the commissioners for the exchange of prisoners to conclude the adjustment, that the resolve in great part arose from the extreme coldness which both sides, but principally the French, perceived at the conference of Calais, not only on the part of Cardinal Pole—it seeming to them that had his right reverend lordship bestirred himself (si fosse riscaldato) as he should and might have done, the resolve now about to be made would doubtless have taken place then—but also in the English lords, two of whom, namely the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget—the late Chancellor being the third—showed themselves well disposed. These two, after the two first days, commenced urging their departure thence, declaring openly that the conference could produce no fruit or effect, so clearly had their colleagues evinced their mind and bias. Therefore “questi signori,” now suspecting that, were the English again to mediate, the affair would encounter greater delay and difficulty, have not hesitated to act in this manner, the Imperialists knowing that they can safely do anything with the Queen, whilst the French have been still less scrupulous about transferring the negotiations from this side to their own ministers, they being no longer so well pleased as formerly, either with Cardinal Pole or with the English, hoping in this way to effect the adjustment much more easily and speedily; nor, in case of failure, would they ever be at a loss for the means of returning it here.*

On his passage hither the Abbot was accompanied by Don Luis Mendes and Don Juan Pacheco, gentlemen “of the mouth” in the service of King Philip, they also having been detained several days at Calais by the contrary wind. Mendes has come to announce the cession made by the Emperor to his son, of Spain, the Indies, and Sicily, and of what remained to him, that her Majesty might thus know she was mistress (*patrona*) to command in those realms as in these. Pacheco was charged to assure her Majesty that, immediately on the despatch of his business at Antwerp, the King will return hither, which news would have completely comforted the Queen, had not her consolation been somewhat diminished by hearing that he will first go back from Antwerp to Brussels, fearing he may be detained for a yet longer period; but as the King has ordered his household to be sent on from Antwerp to Calais, it is a great sign that even should he return to Brussels he will not remain there long.

Mr. Somerset [Edmund Atkinson, Somerset Herald,] also arrived here at the same time from Rome, with the “expeditions”† for

* The words in the original are, “Questi due fin dalli due primi giorni comintarono a sollicitar la partita facendo aperta professione che non potesse seguire frutto o effetto alcuno, tanto bene mostrorono lo animo et desiderio loro.” I gather the meaning of this obscure sentence from the fact that the English commissioners at this conference were Gardiner, Arundel, and Paget, so I infer that these two last, being of the imperial faction, opposed the more moderate English policy of Pole and Gardiner, who were therefore accused of being lukewarm. In *Fronde* (vol. vi. p. 344, ed. London, 1860), no mention is made of the Earl of Arundel; and Michiel, on the other hand, shows that Pembroke was recalled from Calais before the 6th May, on the 20th of which month the conference commenced.

† See also Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 4th January 1556, No. 455, showing that Somerset Herald had been sent by Sir Edward Carne.



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1556.

the archbishopric of Canterbury in the person of the most illustrious Legate, who, having received the bulls, will take possession, and henceforth assume the cure and administration of that see; and the sentence against the late Archbishop [Cranmer] will soon be executed, he remaining more obstinate than ever in his heresies (*stando più che mai ostinato nelle sue heresie*).

London, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 27.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

364. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The most Christian King returned hither last evening, and before he left Chambord (*Schiamburgh*) advices arrived from the Admiral, who having gone back to the conference, the Imperialists again proposed the truce, if his most Christian Majesty would consent to restore three fortresses taken by him during this war in the Luxemburg territory, namely Javes (*sic*), Memades (*sic*), and Davvilliers (*sic*), and pay an annual pension of 50,000 crowns to the Duke of Savoy. To this proposal the Admiral replied that he had come to treat the affair of the prisoners, but as their lordships made these offers he could merely reply that his most Christian Majesty had commissioned him not to listen to any proposal for peace, unless the Emperor consented to restore the Milanese; nor for truce, unless equitable arrangements were made either by restitution on both sides, or that both one and the other should remain as they are (*overo stando ciascuno nelli sui termini*). After long debate the Imperial commissioners again proposed that the King of France should consent to restore Marienburg to the Emperor, and give a fair annual pension to the Duke of Savoy, and the Emperor, pitying his condition, would do the same by him, the Duke being left at liberty to live and reside (*di poter viver et trattenersi*) wherever he pleased. The Imperialists prayed the Admiral not to fail imparting these proposals to his King, in the Emperor's name, which the Admiral promised to do.

When this intelligence arrived, the decision was proposed in council with great altercation between the Constable on the one hand, who continues more than ever in favour of the Truce, and the Duke of Guise on the other, who uses every effort in order that with the League, the Italian expedition may be carried on. After much contest his most Christian Majesty resolved that he would not reject the compact (quella sorte di compositione) which was offered him, provided (as he had declared on every occasion) matters proceeded reciprocally (che le cose andassero del pari); that if the Emperor would give a pension to the Duke of Savoy, he also would give him as much more (gli ne darebbe altrettanto); that if the Emperor wished for Marienburg, his Imperial Majesty on his part should also be pleased to give in exchange the new fortress of Hesdin; and if on the contrary the Emperor would not restore anything, that he be content that the King of France should do the like. Thus was it written to the Admiral, and the final resolve is expected in

1556.

three or four days. *The Emperor is supposed to have come to this conclusion owing to the League treated by the King of France in Italy; and should this adjustment not take place, and lest it seem strange to the confederates that his Majesty should have given ear to it, I understand that the whole has been communicated to the Pope and to the Duke of Ferrara, and that the King will not form any decision without including and benefiting his friends and confederates.*

I notified to your Serenity the offer made by the Florentine outlaws to accommodate the King with 400,000 crowns, at the rate of 16 per cent. (*con utile di 16 per cento*) and subsequently it has been heard by letters from Rome that the Cardinals of Lorraine and Tournon made a contract with Bindo Altoviti for 300,000 crowns, at the rate of 16 per cent. interest, but as the debentures which the Cardinal of Lorraine (*il detto R^{mo} di Lorena*) had were not approved of, they sent back hither for fresh ones, but by reason of the aforesaid negotiation the resolve remains in suspense; and the said Altoviti, besides the King's security, bound himself on his own private account to pay the sums assigned to all the parties at the appointed times.

Yesterday the Nuncio here received letters from the Abbot of San Saluto, dated Calais, the 10th instant, concerning what the Pope wrote to Cardinal Pole about negotiating an adjustment between these two Princes, telling him that he had been sent by the Queen and Cardinal to the Emperor and his son, where he had already been, and as he could not have audience of the Emperor, who had a violent fit of the gout in both shoulders, he had performed the office enjoined him with King Philip, and brought back such assurance of the excellent disposition of both their Majesties, as was anticipated by the Queen and by his Cardinal. The Abbot added that he was awaiting fair weather to cross the Channel and return to London, from whence they would immediately despatch either himself or some other person to come and treat this matter with his most Christian Majesty, and in the meanwhile he requested the Nuncio to communicate all this to the Constable, but as yet no one has appeared, which perhaps proceeds from this fresh conference [at the Abbey of Vaucelles].

The said Abbot also writes that the cause of the postponement of the Emperor's departure, besides his indisposition, was the great risk of his life, as represented to him by the physicians, had he put to sea this winter, but that his Imperial Majesty is more than ever desirous of going to Spain as soon as the weather improves.

Blois, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 27.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

365. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of LORRAINE.

Hopes he will have returned from Rome on the arrival of the bearer of this letter, who will be Messer Mattheo Priuli, Pole's gentleman, whom he sends to do the like by King Henry as he has already done by the Emperor and the King his son through the

1556.

Abbot of San Saluto, the Pope having again desired Pole to urge the negotiation of peace, for which Lorraine's piety and grade alike bind him to co-operate.

London, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27.

366. CARDINAL POLE to the CONSTABLE of FRANCE.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Montmorency will have heard that Pole sent the Abbot of San Saluto to Brussels about the peace, which the Pope has again desired him to prosecute, and as the reply was favourable, he is sending his gentleman, Mattheo Priuli, to the most Christian King on the like mission. It is unnecessary for him to exhort the Constable to favour so holy a matter.

London, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27.

367. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP of VITERBO [Nuncio in France].

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Will have heard how he sent the Abbot of San Saluto to Brussels about the peace, and the reply being favourable, he is now sending Mattheo Priuli to perform the like office with his most Christian Majesty, and requests the Nuncio to introduce him.

London, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27 ? *

368. INSTRUCTION for MATTHEO PRIULI from CARDINAL POLE.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Will tell the King of France the reason why the Legate sent the Abbot of San Saluto lately to the Emperor and the King of England, namely to resume the negotiation for peace according to the commission again received from the Pope; and Pole having heard of the appointment of commissioners by their Majesties for an exchange of prisoners, he thought it was a good opportunity for proceeding farther with the negotiation for peace. The Abbot brought back word that the Emperor and the King approved of its being carried on by the Queen and Pole, who commenced it; and as after the return of the Abbot, who was for a long while prevented from crossing the Channel by contrary winds, news arrived that the commissioners for the exchange of prisoners had been joined by other personages to treat the peace, the Legate has thought fit now to perform no other office with the King of France than to announce this reply brought by the Abbot. Priuli will make this announcement also to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, and will be guided throughout by the opinion and direction of the Nuncio.

[London, 27th January 1556 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27.

369. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Somerset delivered to him Morone's letters of the 2nd and 12th December. Nor will Pole say more about the briefs brought by him concerning the peace and the archbishopric [of Canterbury],

* No date of time or place in MS.

1556.

as Morone can hear all particulars from his agent and by the copy of his letter to the Pope. Requests him to pray God to enable Pole to bear the burden, as Pole constantly prays for Morone, which is all he can do in return for his affection as demonstrated on every occasion. Their Majesties' ambassador has written to the Queen about Cardinal Puteo, of whom Morone writes, and Pole spoke lately on the subject to the Queen, who promised to recommend him warmly by letter to the King, on whose arrival, which is hoped for shortly, Pole will not fail to perform every loving office with him in favour of Monsigr. Barengo, as due for his labours, and in conformity with the wish of Morone and Pole to do whatever they can to gratify him. Apologizes for not writing more from lack of time.

London, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

370. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CARLO] CARAFFA.

Acquaints him with the missions to Brussels and France of Parpaglia and Priuli. Should Priuli on his arrival find matters in such a state as to render negotiation unseasonable, he is charged to do nothing further, but to remain in Paris, whither he had intended going previously, Pole thus avoiding any affront to which he might have been subjected had he sent a person who at any rate must have returned to England [before going to France].

Touching Caraffa's notice of the seven cardinals lately elected by the Pope,* Pole, being convinced that they are all worthy of the account in which his Holiness thus shows that he holds them, rejoices greatly at the promotion, and particularly at that of the Cardinal of Trani, Pole through his long and intimate acquaintance with him having always known that he is most deserving of every honour. The King wrote about the church of Trani to Pole, who replied as Caraffa will see by the enclosed copy, and he may remind the Pope of what Pole wrote to him on this subject heretofore.

London, 27th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 28.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

371. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of TRANI [Giovanni Bernardo Scotti].

Heard lately of Scotti's promotion to the cardinalate with feelings of compassion towards Scotti himself and of congratulation on every account, both public and private, towards the Church and the Pope, with the sure hope that the goodness of God will always comfort and assist him. Subsequently Pole received Scotti's letter of the 11th evincing his great anxiety, besides what is caused him by this promotion, about the additional burden of the church of Trani, concerning which he will have heard what King Philip wrote to Pole, and his reply, whereby he bore witness to his intimate acquaintance with Scotti and his opinion of him, without proceeding further, nor has he heard anything more from the King

* The promotion took place on the 20th December 1555. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 342.)

1556.

subsequently, and he has firm hope that in this matter likewise the Lord God will ordain what is most for his honour and service. It is unnecessary for him to make any offers to Scotti, who may believe how he wishes to serve him in whatever he can. Has desired his agent to request Scotti to avail himself of whatever Pole has at Rome as if it were his own, and prays that he will employ him for anything else he may require, with such reliance and confidence as become their true friendship and union in Christ, to which he has the greater hope Scotti may adapt himself the more it differs from his usual maxim, and that feeling the increased burden he will practise self-denial, and to comfort himself have recourse more earnestly *ad illum qui consolatur humiles*, of which remedy Pole always has had and continues to have constant need; so he requests Scotti to have him always present in his prayers, as he in like manner prays for Scotti, who will hear about the affairs of the religion in England from Pole's agent.

London, 28th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1.

Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 49,
pp. 180-182.

372. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Marquis of Sarria, the Emperor's ambassador, has been informed by way of Venice that the Cardinal of Lorraine had found your Serenity favourable to the peace with the Emperor and the King of England your confederates (*suoi compagni*), and has given me thanks accordingly. I answered I did not know what the Cardinal of Lorraine had proposed, though I was aware of your Serenity's intention to keep peace with friendly powers your confederates. He then told me he went yesterday to the Pope, who spoke to him more warmly than ever about peace, evincing a great wish to attack the Turk, and saying that the King of France would not fail to aid the expedition with his forces, and that your Serenity, without whom the undertaking could not be made, would also give a great number of galleys; to which the Marquis told me he replied, "Holy Father! your Holiness has often spoken to me about this peace, and nevertheless I do not see that any of your actions serve to bring it about, whilst by treating us so badly as you do, you give us small cause to trust you entirely. I may observe that former pontiffs, when they wished to perform such a feat, either went in person or sent men of importance (*uomini d'importanza*). As yet we have had nothing but words from your Holiness." He then said that as to French assistance against Sultan Soliman, he did not see how that could be expected from those who had so often brought infidel forces into the heart of Christendom, in addition to which he understood that a very handsome present sent by the King of France for the Turk had already arrived at Venice for the purpose of strengthening their mutual friendship, and in order that this year likewise he might have the Turkish fleet to plunder Christian souls (*che depredasse anime Christiane*).

The Pope's rejoinder purported that he was glad the Marquis had spoken thus freely, and that it would be well to find means for the removal of every difficulty.

1556.

To me Sarria added—"Had there been anybody but myself at this court, a total rupture would have taken place many months ago; what has not been said about me here? what sort of injury have they abstained from doing to the honour of my masters? yet it has been tolerated, and this our toleration will serve as testimony to the world that we, on our part, shall not have recourse to arms, save from compulsion. The Pope gives us fair words and hopes daily, and by so much the less do we expect compliance with the demands made by D. Garcilasso; his Holiness nevertheless binds himself more and more closely to the French, and in every way increases our reasonable jealousy and suspicion."

Rome, 1st February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

373. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last evening the Bishop of Arras arrived here from Antwerp, the King having sent him to give account to the Emperor of what he had heard from the Queen of England about the reply to the proposals conveyed by San Saluto, and to tell him of the difficulties made by the French commissioners with the Spaniards, which are reduced to two conditions; the one, that the French wish the truce to last for six years, and the Spaniards for two; the other, that they object to the inclusion in it of the Republic of Genoa and the Duke of Florence, saying that neither one nor the other have anything to do with the crown of Spain, and that, as they are not now treating with the Emperor, his son has not to solicit this. I hear from the Nuncio that the Bishop of Arras said that at last a truce will be made, and he departed this morning on his way back to the King to tell him the opinion of the Emperor, to whom his Majesty is to return next Monday. The King has not yet elected the knights of the "Fleece," his own wishes in this matter being in part opposed by the Flemish knights, who wish a greater number of their own countrymen to be elected than of any other nation, either Spanish, English, or Italian.

Brussels, 1st of February 1556.

P.S.—The Ferrarese ambassador has just heard that the truce is already made, the parties keeping what they hold, and that this decision will not be published for a fortnight. The ambassador remarked to me that this might facilitate the acquisition by the Imperialists of some places in Italy, adding his belief that the Emperor will be named in the said truce, although it was said at first that it would be negotiated and stipulated solely with the King of Spain, this having been necessary to stay the exorbitant demands made by the French. With regard to the duration of the truce he said he had heard nothing.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

374. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have ascertained that in the proposal made by the Imperialists, besides asking for the restitution of Marienburg, they also demanded

1556.

that of Ivrea for the Duke of Savoy, the most Christian King keeping the fortress in his hands, and allowing the Duke to have possession (*di poter goder*) of the city and its revenues in the same way as he permits the Duke of Mantua to hold Casale (*che goda Casale*). In reply the French commissioners were desired to say that if the Emperor wished for Marienburg, he should give the most Christian King the fortress of Hesdin, his Majesty not choosing to come to a compact unless matters proceeded with reciprocity; neither as to Ivrea did it seem to him the fitting moment when treating the truce to talk about giving anything to the Duke of Savoy, towards whom, should a negotiation for peace take place, the King would make every fair demonstration; and on the 28th ultimo this reply was given to the Imperialists, who took time to announce it to the Emperor and the King of England, promising to meet again on the 2nd instant, which will be to-morrow. *Now that this negotiation seems to narrow itself (che vedendosi astringer questa trattatione), the conflicting passions in this court come to light; the adherents of the Constable, together with the public, being desirous of its conclusion; whilst, on the other hand, the dependants both of the Queen [Catherine de' Medici] and of the house of Guise, together with those of Madame de Valentinois, demonstrate openly that for the benefit of his affairs his most Christian Majesty ought not to come to this agreement, but pursue the execution of the League (ma seguitare la esecuzione della Liga), for which they say another opportunity will not so easily occur; and that although the Pope may not be able to furnish such great assistance as would be required, and therefore uses the utmost art to conceal his policy (et che per ciò faccia con ogni arte tenere le cose sue segrete), yet nevertheless he cannot fail to be very useful (non potè non dare molto beneficio); in addition to which, should the Duke of Ferrara have declared himself his most Christian Majesty's ally (collegato), he will run the risk of losing what he holds under the Emperor's jurisdiction; and as it is heard that the Cardinal of Lorraine will be here in a few days, they hope that, should the ratification not have taken place by that time, his coming may serve greatly to interrupt it, and having already heard something about these negotiations, he is expected to speed his journey.*

Blois, 1st February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

375. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The truce is here considered settled, but from an agent of the Cardinal of Trent, who is come from the King to the Emperor on his way back to his master, I have heard that although it was supposed to be settled, the difficulties between the commissioners at Cambrai being adjusted, there remained the question of its duration, the French commissioners insisting on six years, whilst the Spaniards wish for only three; and Dr. Malopera, who attended the former negotiation, on behalf of the Duke of Savoy, says that

1556.

all the friends, dependants, and subjects of both their Majesties will be included. Am also informed that the said Duke, when speaking to the Bishop of Arras about this truce, was seen to be in so great a rage with him, that his right reverend lordship remained cap in hand longer than usual. Subsequently his Excellency sent him an additional article about his affairs to be sent to the commissioners, whereupon the Bishop told the gentleman who brought it that he had not sufficient authority to do what the Duke wished, and shrugging his shoulders suggested to him that it would be well for the Duke to use his own influence and to write to the commissioners, knowing that they were his devoted servants, but said he would nevertheless send them the said clause. One of his Excellency's intimate attendants says that when the Duke prayed the King to ponder well *all that the world would say about the stipulation of a truce of this sort*, his Majesty replied that he had not formed so momentous a resolve merely in conformity with his own opinion, but also with that of the Emperor, *on hearing which the Duke was struck dumb*.

Last night, at Antwerp, the King went to an entertainment and tournament, given in the English Guildhall by the Marquis del Valle;* and although the persons of his Majesty's court, who have returned hither, and the "advices" say that he will leave Antwerp in four or six days, some persons are of opinion that he will not come to the Emperor until the commissioners shall have fixed the duration of the truce; his Imperial Majesty having perhaps given orders for the decision to be made by the King while away from him.

Brussels, 2nd February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

376. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day received advices from Antwerp informing me that the King had received letters from the commissioners at Cambrai, including one from the Regent of Milan to Secretary Percz, who, being at dinner with Sir John Masone, councillor of the Queen of England,† mentioned that the said Regent wrote to him that after the removal of all the difficulties, there remaining the one about the longer or shorter duration of the peace, the French raised other doubts (*andavano movendo altri dubbj*); and thereupon the King sent a courier to the commissioners with some other clauses, decreed in council, whereby he conceded nearly all the French wished, and on the return of this courier the final resolve was expected. Although both in this court and in that of the King it continues to be reported that the truce may be considered concluded, the Emperor having consented both to be named in it and to the other

* This marquis was the son of Hernando Cortez, who died in the year 1554.

† In date of Antwerp, 7th February, Sir John Masone wrote to the Council, "The truce so commonly talked of yesterday is not, it seems to him, so hot to-day." (See Foreign Calendar 1553-1558, p. 209.)

1556.

difficulties (sic) which might prevent the settlement (*havendo acconsentito l'Imperatore di esser (sic) et nominato in essa, et all' altre difficultà che poterano impedir la conclusione*),* there are some Spaniards of condition who say that from the proceedings of the French they rather suspect them of raising certain difficulties, not so much for the sake of benefiting their King, as in furtherance of some secret project for delaying this matter, they hoping perhaps *that his most Christian Majesty may form a league with the Pope for the present exigencies of Italy*; and it has been said to me *that the coming to your Serenity of the Cardinal de Guise causes suspicion of a league with his Holiness and the most Christian King*; it also seeming to them *that the reception given to his right reverend lordship was too warm*. In all my conversations I demonstrated *that this was your Serenity's ordinary mode of receiving personages of his grade when they come to see Venice*; and I positively assured everybody that you persevere, as you always will do, in your constant friendship and observance towards the Emperor, and also in the great goodwill and respect you bear his son.

Some days ago King Philip's confessor† suggested to him, and urged his Majesty to determine on sending to his ambassadors in all foreign parts, and to his viceroys at Naples, Sicily, and Milan, two or three gentlemen to each place, to instruct themselves thoroughly in statesmanship, so as in a few years to have men of experience in his service; and he says that all the reverses which befell the Emperor and his Majesty in this war with France, although the Emperor was always most prudent and valorous, proceeded from his not having foreseen that he might have need of men well skilled in matters of that sort; and that the King of France caused their Majesties more trouble and detriment, by means of the assiduous counsel of many persons in his employment, and of the intelligent agents who executed his resolves, than he did either through money, or other means of war. This suggestion has general approval, and the only impediment which prevents his Majesty from carrying it into effect is, that he has not so many and such able persons at his disposal as would be required for that purpose.

On the night before last King Philip supped with the Portuguese merchants, he having invited himself to do them that favour; and passing through the street where the English reside, he enquired in the hearing of many persons where they dwelt; but as they are few, and not wealthy, they turned a deaf ear to the honour intended them.

Brussels, 5th February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* The writer probably meant that the Emperor had consented to the removal of the difficulties, &c., but in the original despatch the sentence is written as above.

† The Franciscan friar, Francisco Alfonso de Castro. He died at Brussels at the age of 63 on the 13th February 1558. (See Biographical Dictionary, published at Bassano.)

1556.
Feb. 5.*
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

377. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the departure of the Magnifico Missier Mattio di Priati, who was despatched hence for the purposes narrated in my last of the 27th ulto., as confirmed to me subsequently by Cardinal Pole himself, nothing further has hitherto taken place concerning this business. What yet more determined the Cardinal to make use of Missier Mattio, and not of the Abbot or of an Englishman, was that when the Abbot was at Brussels, the King having told him freely the Emperor's mind and opinion about such particulars as were most important in this matter; and the Abbot thereupon having asked his Majesty for an instruction respecting the mode to be observed by him with the French, that he might know how far he was or was not to unbosom himself to them; the King told him that on his return thither he would find it in the hands of the Queen and of the Cardinal, to each of whom he would write his intention yet more precisely than he had told it to him, and send an express who would arrive as soon as the Abbot, if not sooner. This not having been done, as this instruction never arrived, during the Abbot's stay at Calais, nor after his arrival here, nor perhaps down to the present day, Cardinal Pole began to suspect (sece entrar in sospetto il Cardinal) that the King had changed his mind, transferring the negotiation elsewhere, and removing it hence, so that it was unnecessary for him to do anything more than what he as it were (in certo modo) deemed necessary, in accordance with his wish to maintain himself as much as possible in the confidence of both sides, namely, to send word to France of the Abbot's return from Brussels and of the excellent hope brought back by him, from the disposition of those sovereigns; thus showing that he did as much by the most Christian King as he had done by the Emperor and the King of England.

At this present time the delay in hearing that any decision has yet been formed by the commissioners at the conference† induces his right reverend lordship to believe that the mission of Missier Mattio will prove neither vain nor useless, most especially as the Abbot, according to what he himself has told me, represented amply by letter great part if not the whole of what he would have said by word of mouth and in [the most Christian King's] presence, although he made it appear that he wrote on his own account, and not by order of the Cardinal, which comes however to the same thing (il che importa perhò il medesimo) by reason of the trust gained by him in these negotiations with both sides.

The two companies of "Merchant Adventurers" and "Staplers" were lately requested in the name of the Queen to pay in Flanders 100,000*l.*, her Majesty being debtor there for that amount, which she received in Spain on account of the loan contracted there two

* The original letter is misdated 5th January.

† As seen in the despatch from the ambassador Soranzo, date Blois 27th December 1555, the conference at the abbey of Vaucelles was originally held for the purpose of stipulating an exchange of prisoners, which was followed by a truce, as recorded in Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, date 5th February 1556, No. 466.

1556.

years ago. Both companies made many excuses, which not being admitted, they were at length compelled to pledge themselves, the "Adventurers" disbursing 60,000*l.*, and the "Staplers" 40,000*l.*, and for their repayment such provision will be made in the course of time as shall be most convenient for her Majesty.*

They are now intent on the general taxation of the city and the kingdom, the payment of the subsidy being at hand, which seems to proceed with such severity, no regard being had either for aliens or Englishmen, that it will greatly exceed former taxations, many persons having to pay three times as much as their usual quota. The Queen continues in hopes of her consort's return, as confirmed to her recently by his letters and messengers, to two of whom she gave each a chain worth 400 ducats; and she ordered the ships to drop down towards the sea forthwith, ordering the guard of 100 English halberdiers to be at Dover on the 20th instant; and the Earl of Pembroke, who is appointed to receive his Majesty at Calais, will depart from one day to another.

Some of the persons arrested with the new King Edward have been hanged, and the affair is consigned to silence.

London, 5th February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 5.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

378. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

In reply to his letter of the 4th ulto. concerning the Chancellorship of England, is very glad to find that his opinion agreed with that of the Pope and Morone. With regard to the Cardinal of Trani, was very sure that Morone would consider him such as Pole has always known him to be, and rejoices much at the reciprocal satisfaction of the whole College of Cardinals.

London, 5th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

379. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The truce is settled to last for five years, and the Secretary Banos (*sic*) is to bring the news express to both their Majesties.

When the courier wished to announce the intelligence in person to the Emperor, having come hither before going to Antwerp to the King of Spain, one of the Imperial ministers charged him to depart instantly for Antwerp to give the first news to the King.

Brussels, 6th February 1556.

Postscript.—M. de la Chaux and Don Luis de Avila, to whom I sent my secretary with congratulations on this conclusion of the truce, confirmed the fact, and Avila told him that it had been concluded for five years, but with a reservatory clause about the Emperor's acceptance, though the fact is that his Imperial Majesty formed the decision when the Bishop of Arras came hither.

[*Italian.*]

* In Hume's History (vol. 3, p. 387, ed. London, 1744), allusion is made to "the Queen's extortions;" and the author quotes "a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London," but does not name the staplers.

1556.

Feb. 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

380. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the
DOGE and SENATE.

Last night the King sent news to his sister, Madame Margaret, that on the 3rd instant the truce between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty was concluded for five years, without restoring anything on either side, but with the obligation on the part of his most Christian Majesty to give an annual pension of 25,000 francs to the Duke of Savoy. All the honour of this adjustment is attributed to the Constable.

Blois, 7th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 51,
pp. 185-187.

381. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

I yesterday presented to the Pope the honoured privilege* conceded by your Serenity to his nephews of the Caraffa family. He never tired of looking at the parchment, examined the golden seal, folded the patent with his own hand, and replaced it himself in its case (*nella borsa*), saying to me, "We will call our nephews and rejoice together; return the greatest possible thanks in our name; assure the State that as long as we live we shall have no greater wish than to do them some signal service." He then said to me, "We will unbosom to you all our ideas (*tutti i nostri concetti*). We have tolerated so many and such great injuries from these Imperialists, that in patience we have surpassed Job. We have so many proofs of all their plots and acts of treachery that some day, when at leisure, we could tell enough to astound you. We have dissembled everything from our wish for peace, but what they did lately cannot be put up with. It is this, that they attempted to bribe (*corrompere*) even the soldiers of our guard, to kill my cardinal and me; and they moreover reached such a pitch of impiety as to purpose poisoning the water of the palace, which fact the goodness of our Lord God has willed should come to our knowledge, nor is there reason to doubt the truth of this;† so we greatly fear being compelled to proceed *ad ultimum terribilium*, which is war. We shall do so unwillingly; but perhaps Divine Providence, to punish them for their sins, will allow us to be driven to this, which may perchance be the way to free this wretched and unhappy Italy; nor will we call our most Serene Signory to any share in the danger, but we indeed hope that when matters are arranged to the grandeur and honour of Italy, she will take thought for the liberty of the said Italy, in which she has so great a part, and for her own likewise."

* In a despatch dated 18th January 1556, the ambassador wrote to the Doge and Senate, that on the preceding day Paul IV. expressed a wish to him that the Signory would deign (*si degnara*) to inscribe his nephews on the golden book, and the "privilege" here alluded to was the "patent" with the pendant golden seal. When making this demand, Gian Pietro Caraffa told Bernardo Navagero that he was eighty years old.

† In this same letter, Navagero mentions having been told by Cardinal Caraffa that the conspiracy was entrusted to the Pope's Switzer guards, one of whom was to have shot the Cardinal from the guard house when he stood at a certain window, but no particulars are given about the mode of poisoning the water.

1556.

I remarked that the Pope said these things to me with his mind in much suspense and trouble (*con l'animo tutto sospeso et travagliato*).

Rome, 8th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

382. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the arrival at Antwerp of the courier to the King of Spain with the news of the conclusion of the peace, his Majesty assembled the council of state, but did not say a word on the subject to any other of his attendants.

This same courier brought a letter from the Regent of Milan to the Dr. Malopera, one of the chief ministers of the Duke of Savoy, giving him notice of having been unable to obtain more than is expressed by the letters sent to the King, to whom the Duke went immediately, and after reading the letters of the commissioners, his attendants say, that perceiving how disastrous the decision was for him, he remained (to use their own words) more dead than alive (*tra viva e morta*), nor until then had he ever been seen to shed tears; and they assert truly that what has come to pass was foreseen by him. On his return to his lodging, the Bishop of Arras, and the Knights of the Fleece, and many other noblemen, went to comfort him, but he never evinced resignation. His adherents add that he has refused an annuity of 20,000 crowns which the King of France wished to give him during the truce, his Excellency not having chosen to degrade himself by so base an act; *and if on account of the Emperor and the King of Spain he was deprived of all his revenues, and if their Majesties did not think of providing him with another State, although on the other hand they did think of availing themselves of his services for their own States, he would nevertheless endure this misfortune likewise, and neither they nor the most Christian King would ever prevent his Excellency from remaining a brave prince, and bearing with this adverse fortune.*

Shortly after this, Secretary Bave arrived with the draft of the articles to be signed by the King, who sent them to the Emperor. None of the chief ministers of either of their Majesties have chosen to tell the Duke of Savoy, or anyone else clearly, what they are, *common report saying they are not honourable*; although letters from Antwerp tell me that the truce is to last for the five years, so that what each of them holds may be enjoyed quietly during that period, neither of the parties being allowed to fortify any place, nor to keep a greater number of troops than usual on the frontiers, and that should either of them make war he be bound to declare it sufficient time beforehand, to save the subjects and merchants from any loss; the truce moreover comprises all their Majesties' friends and dependants, the Pope also being left at liberty to join it or not, and I heard subsequently that your Serenity is specified.

His Majesty, with the council of state, has fixed the salaries of each of the secretaries already elected, and of the officials to be named hereafter, and has enacted a law condemning to death such as accept presents of any sort, proposing a reward for those who

1556.

inform against them, and binding them also when in council neither to speak nor to suggest anything unless demanded.

Brussels, 8th February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 8.
Parti Secrete
Consiglio X.
File No. 9.

383. APOLOGY proposed by the CHIEFS of the TEN to EDWARD COURTENAY, MARQUIS of EXETER.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and junta by the chiefs, Alvise Contarini, Hironimo da Leze, and Domenico Morosini.

That by the chiefs of this council our faithful Vincenzo Pelegrini, advocate, be told, in such good form of words as shall seem fit to them; that our beloved noble, Philippo Foscari, sage of the council, having reported to us what the said Pelegrini narrated to him about Lord Courtenay, he is to let his lordship know that we did not make a demonstration of our goodwill and esteem for him, on account of respects relating to himself (*per rispetti di sua Signoria*), as, did they not exist, we should not have failed to display our benevolence, nor will we omit to do so when the opportunity occurs.

Ayes, 23. No. 1. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

384. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the Constable gave me notice that the truce had been made on fair terms. The King will be here in three days, when M. de Bassefontaine [Sebastien de l'Aubespine] is also expected with the agreement (*capitulatione*) duly made and signed, and the Admiral will be present at the ratification by the Emperor and the King of England; and when the agreement is returned, the Prothonotary de Noailles, brother of the French ambassador in England, will depart hence for Italy, to announce this adjustment to the Pope and your Serenity, and to the other potentates there. The terms of the truce are, neither side to make restitution of any kind, the truce to be valid in all the states and dominions of either Majesty, both by land and sea, commencing on the 5th instant, and lasting for five years. Should any towns or any place whatever be taken or occupied, they are to be restored reciprocally. The most Christian King has included in the truce his Holiness, the King and Queen of England, and the other kings of Christendom, your Serenity, the Duke of Ferrara, the Duke of Parma, Madame his wife,* the Prince of Salerno, and the Marquis Albert, and the Duke de Bouillon (who is now the Emperor's prisoner), with regard to certain free jurisdictions held by him (*per rispetto de certi sui dominij liberi che possiede*), and the whole League of the Switzers.

Besides this general agreement two particular articles (*altri due articoli particolari*) have been stipulated, by one of which the most Christian King permits Queen Eleanor [widow of Francis I.], the

* Margaret of Austria, the illegitimate daughter of Charles V.

1556.

Emperor's sister, to enjoy the revenues of the estates (*usufruttuare li beni*) assigned for her dower (*duario*) as late Queen of France, and what she possesses in this country on account of her marriage portion (*per conto della sua dote*) ; and on the other hand, at the suit of the most Christian King, the Emperor will restore to the aforesaid Duchess of Parma, his daughter, her estates (*li beni sui*) now in the hands of his Imperial Majesty. The other article stipulates payment by the King of France of an annual recompense under the name of pension to the Duke of Savoy on account of Ivrea, which city the Imperial commissioners laboured hard to obtain for the Duke ; but to this not only did the King refuse his consent, but would not even allow either of the articles to be included in the general agreement, and the recompense will consist in an annual pension of 25,000 francs. The Imperialists earnestly endeavoured to have the truce made for ten years, but as the French seemed averse to its lasting for more than three, the term of five years was at length agreed to as aforesaid.

With regard to the release of the prisoners, the Imperialists have always made a difficulty about stipulating any agreement until the conclusion of the truce, saying that when the general agreement was settled, the prisoners likewise might very speedily be despatched, and thus was all discussion about their release postponed until the 5th instant. I have heard that no decision has been given, save that the agreement already made will be confirmed ; and that the Duke d'Arschot and Count Mansfeldt, who are his most Christian Majesty's prisoners, will be released for money, as also the Duke de Bouillon and the Constable's son, who are the Emperor's prisoners. And thus after five years will there be an end of this war, which, according to persons able to ascertain the fact, has cost the King upwards of 45 millions of crowns, including the ordinary and extraordinary supply, which last having been already imposed and agreed to for the present year, his Majesty will receive the money without having occasion to spend it.

Blois, 9th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10.
Parti Comuni
Consiglio X.
Vol. 22, p. 100.

385. PRECAUTIONS taken by EDWARD COURTENAY, MARQUIS of EXETER.

Motion made in the Council of Ten.

That license be given to Lord Courtenay, with 15 servants, of whose names a list is to be given as usual, to carry weapons in this city and in all our towns and places.

Ayes, 13. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 11.
Parti Comuni
Consiglio X.
Vol. 22, p. 100.

386. MARQUIS of EXETER.

Motion made in the Council of Ten.

That the arms-license given yesterday to Lord Courtenay be increased from the number of 15 to 25, according to the request which he caused to be made (*che esso ha fatto ricevere*) of the chiefs of this council.

Ayes, 13. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

1556.

Feb. 15.
Deliberazioni
Senato
(Secreta),
Vol. lxix.
p. 171, to.

387. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

By his letters of the 16th ultimo, heard that the Emperor had renounced to the King, his son, the realms and signories of the crown of Castille and Aragon, in addition to the renunciations made by him previously of his other kingdoms and states.

To congratulate the King on his accession in suitable terms, and inform his Imperial Majesty that they will send an ambassador to reside with his son. To transmit the accompanying packet to the Ambassador Michiel in England, who is to congratulate the Queen.

Proposed, to elect forthwith an ambassador to the said most serene King, to reside with his Majesty; the person elected being unable to refuse under the penalties contained in the Act passed by our Grand Council in the year 1536, against those who refuse embassies to crowned heads.

The person elected to have two hundred golden ducats per month for his expenses, without being obliged to show any account of them, and to be bound to keep eleven horses, comprising those of his secretary and servant, and four stirrup-men, and to depart at such time, and with such commission, as shall seem fit to this council.

Ayes, 102. No, 1. Neutral, 0.

Elected, Ser Michiel Surian, Knight.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15.

Deliberazioni
Senato
(Secreta),
Vol. 69, p. 172 to.

388. The DOGE and SENATE to the KING of SPAIN.

The Magnifico Don Francisco de Vargas, Imperial ambassador resident with us, has acquainted us with the renunciation of the kingdoms and signories of the crown of Castille and Aragon made by the Emperor your father. It has caused us such satisfaction as becomes the love and observance we bear your Majesties.

Similar letter to be sent to the ambassador in England, changing the name, vidt, Zuan Michiel, who is with his Majesty's Most Serene Consort.

Ayes, 162. No, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15.

Deliberazioni
Senato
(Secreta),
Vol. 69, p. 172, to.

389. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

By letters from our ambassador with the Emperor, dated the 16th ultimo, we have heard of the renunciation made by him to the King, his son, of the kingdoms and signories of the crown of Castille and Aragon, in addition to the other renunciations made previously. To congratulate the Queen in the name of our Signory; and also to congratulate the Right Reverend of York and Lord Paget, saying you have orders from us to that effect, on the dignities obtained from their Queen.*

Ayes, 162. No, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

* Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, had recently been made Lord Chancellor; the office of Lord Privy Seal being also conferred on William Lord Paget. (See Haydn's Book of Dignities.)

1556.

Feb. 15.
Senato Terra,
vol. 40, p. 87, &c.

390. Introduction of EDWARD COURTENAY, MARQUIS of EXETER, to the DOGE and SIGNORY, and present made to him.

The Lord Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, having lately arrived in this city, and having been to visit the Most Serene Prince and our Signory, it is fitting to make some demonstration towards his Excellency, as usually practised in similar cases; wherefore, put to the ballot, that our College be authorised to spend to the amount of 100 ducats on such things and refreshments (*quelle robbe et rinfrescamenti*) as shall be most fitting to present to the aforesaid Lord.

Ayes, 182. Noes, 4. Neutral, 0.

Mem.—That the above-written motion was made by a mandate from the College on the above-written day, whilst the Senate was sitting, and the laws about the distribution of the public moneys were called to mind (*memorate fuerunt*).

[*Motion in Italian, memorandum in Latin.*]

Feb. 15.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 52,
p. 190.

391. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is said that a truce may possibly be made between the most Christian King and the King of England. Yesterday at audience I asked the Pope what might be hoped, and he answered me as your Serenity will see by the enclosed.

Rome, 15th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15.
Dispacci, Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B.

392. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Pope told me I was to write, as otherwise he should have cause to complain of me, that he had a later advice than the one received by the Nuncio, whereby he was informed that the Bishop of Arras went up and down (*in su et in giù*) to settle the business, which was not yet concluded, and that he had said they were compelled to make a disgraceful treaty through the obstinacy (*durezza*) of the Pope; at which I remarked that his Holiness was quite delighted. He said to me besides that the Emperor is quite out of his mind, for which reason the renunciations were made, and that both father and son were bad Christians, as he understood that at this Lenten season good joints of meat are served (*vanno intorno*) at their court; and they must beware, either with or without the truce, of giving him cause to break it, as should he once begin the dance (*che se entra una volta in ballo*) he shall choose to finish it, and that even were they to come upon their knees he will not listen to any sort of adjustment, as he well knew how they stood in the kingdom of Naples, which is in such despair owing to their vile treatment (*i loro tristi portamenti*) that it would give itself to the Turk, not only to a Pope, being a fief of the Church, and especially moreover to one of its own citizens [a person] of some account, to say the least of it.

Rome, 15th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.

Feb. 16.

Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 55,
p. 194.

393. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning the Count of Montorio sent to tell me that after midnight a courier arrived with letters from the Nuncio in France, dated the 6th, announcing the suspension of hostilities for five years, between the most Christian King and the most Serene King of England.

Rome, 16th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

394. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.*

As now, at the beginning of Lent, it is fitting for the prelates of England [now in London] to be at their residences, Pole has thought fit to close the synod; and as some matters, about which full information could not be obtained at present, remained for regulation, it was dismissed with orders to meet again on the 10th of November next to settle what remains. They occupied themselves with making provision for the things most necessary for the ecclesiastical reform and government of England, with regard to which all these prelates and the rest of the clergy evinced the utmost goodwill and zeal for the honour and service of God, and took care, as much as possible, to replace things according to the rules and institutions of the Church, without any innovation whatever; and much to his satisfaction he availed himself of the assistance of the Father Fra Bartholomeo Miranda, and of Fra Pedro de Soto, whom he sent for lately from Oxford for this purpose. Pole will not molest the King by giving him at present more precise information about what was done, more especially as he hopes soon to be able thus to do at the King's greater convenience on his return, which in truth becomes more and more necessary, and more desired daily; and although the Queen is convinced of the necessity which detains his Majesty, she cannot but greatly regret being so long deprived of his company; and Pole prays God that she and all may soon be comforted.

Having received the bulls for the archbishopric of Canterbury (as he wrote to the King), he has now commenced preparing for his consecration, as he thinks it fitting not to allow Lent to pass without going to his said church;† so, please God, he purposes (with their Majesties' leave and favour) to betake himself there on Palm Sunday, and prays the Divine goodness to give him the grace to serve to the honour of God, and for the salvation of the souls committed to his charge, thus acting in accordance with the King's piety. Has received the King's letters of the 11th ult.; they are anxious to hear of some favourable conclusion about the truce, and Pole's messenger, whom he sent to France to negotiate it there, writes in date of the 9th instant, that as it was considered settled he had done nothing further.

London, 17th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* In the original MS. (p. 158, verso), the heading of this letter is "*Al medemo*," a clerical error, as the one that precedes it (p. 158, recto) is addressed to Cardinal Morone.

† In the year 1556 Easter Sunday was on the 5th April. (See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*.)

1556.

Feb. 19?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

p. 220, recto.

No date of
time or place
in MS.

Printed in vol. v.

pp. 18, 20,

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi

Poli," &c.,

without any

date.

395. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

Congratulates the Pope on his diligence and piety in commencing the reform of the Roman Court and Church, as the pious and wise always thought that this would be the best mode for providing against the iniquity of the times; and he, Pole, being charged to reform the English Church, is glad to have it in his power to show how the reform has been commenced at Rome, he having to urge obedience to the See Apostolic and to his Holiness. The Pope will see what has been done in the synod by the acts, showing that the measures proposed had been already adopted by the Pope at Rome. This notwithstanding, he refers everything to the Pope's judgment. Such, however, had been the confusion of ecclesiastical law and customs (*morum*), and the corruption of the Catholic doctrine of late years, that the necessary reform could not be effected so immediately. The greatest difficulty consisted in the distribution of the [church] property, which the piety of the Sovereigns left at Pole's disposal as his Holiness' Legate; and it still remains, as nothing can be settled either about liabilities (*de oneribus*) or fruits until the exaction of both, namely before next Michaelmas. In the meanwhile, Lent now approaching, the Bishops must be at their churches; nor could abuses be remedied until after the visitations of the dioceses, which will be effected during this interval. The bishops were therefore dismissed, and the synod has been summoned for the 10th of November; and he thinks also of sending to Ireland, where the same reformatory remedies are needed and desired.

This letter and the acts of the synod will be conveyed by his attendant Mariano Retino (Marianus Reatinus), whom, as he is returning to Italy, Cardinal Pole considered a very fitting person to give account of the decrees and other matters, in many of which he took part; and he is of such piety and learning that in like manner as they had his approval, so will he be able to explain them becomingly. Requests gracious audience for him, praying God long to preserve the Pope for the world and His Church.

[London, 19th February 1556?]

[*Latin.*]

Feb. 19.

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

pp. 159, 161.

396. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

As it is fitting for the English prelates to be at their churches at the beginning of Lent (although they had not completed all the business assigned them), the synod has been adjourned till the 10th of November next, during which interval the bishops, by visiting their dioceses and acquainting themselves well with certain matters, will then be better able to make provision for them, as they have already done for what seemed most necessary; and as the decrees are not yet in suitable order to be sent to the Pope, Pole will now give Morone a summary of what has been done that he may communicate it to his Holiness.

First of all, before proceeding farther, many days were spent in regulating the affairs of the church property restored by the Crown, verifying it in detail, and assigning to each diocese its portion of said property, as also of the charge (*gravezza*) to be levied in payment

1556.

of the pensions, which will cease with the death of the holders, to the great relief and advantage of the Church.

Considering in the next place all the haste, mischief, and disorder caused by the schism, it was determined to celebrate annually the first day of the meeting of the synod throughout the kingdom, by public processions and solemn thanksgivings for so great a benefit, and that in the daily masses a collect composed for the purpose be added to all English missals. As on the withdrawal of the obedience, the authority of the ecclesiastical laws was simultaneously abrogated, it seemed necessary to restore them by acknowledging all the ordinances (*consoli*) and decretal epistles of the popes, and every other ecclesiastical law and tradition approved by the Roman Church. And as from disobedience to the laws there arose the license to read every sort of book, so that the people began to be infected, all heretical and suspected works are now prohibited, the penalties being revived against such as keep, read, print, and bring them into the country, with orders that henceforth nothing whatever be printed without a license from the ordinary, according to the decree of the last Lateran Council. In order that the people may not be carried about by every wind of doctrine (*non circumferatur oïia veno doctrine—sic*), it has been forbidden to hold or teach any other doctrine than that which is approved and held by the Roman Church, and all those who believe and teach otherwise are condemned as heretics, all the penalties and provisions enacted heretofore against similar persons being renewed. And as in England they sinned especially with regard to the doctrine of the primacy of the Church, and the sacraments, it has been decreed in these two matters to give the people (*di dar al popolo*) the brief doctrine as clearly explained in the Council of Florence (*nel Concilio Fiorentino*). And as in England there are many abuses about the custody and administration of the sacraments, all the laws and provisions made in this matter have been renewed, and it has been ordained that the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist be kept in every parish church, *sub serâ et clavi*, in a stately (*honorevole*) and suitable tabernacle on the altar, as at Rome.

Having established this foundation for doctrine and canon law, and the administration of the sacraments, they made decrees about the residence of bishops and curates, and of all persons holding dignities, offices, and administrations (*amministrazioni*); providing also against the absence of canons, in which matter the abuse was such that the churches remained well nigh desolate, nor was there any visible difference between a collegiate church and cathedral and a mere parish church. They provided against those who without sufficient dispensations hold incompatible benefices (*beneficij incompatibili*); and as residence would be of little use unless they perform their office, it has been ordained that every bishop and curate, unless legitimately impeded, is to teach and preach the word of God in person; and for such curates as are not so able to preach, certain pious and learned men of the clergy have been commissioned to write homilies, on such subjects as shall seem most necessary and to the purpose, for the edification of the people, taking everything from the writings of the fathers of the Church (*degli antichi dottori della*

1556.

chiesa), chiefly with a view to remove and extirpate the past errors ; which homilies will be printed in an English translation, the bishops distributing them to the said curates that they may read them to their flocks in lieu of sermons. It was also ordained that no one is to preach without apostolic authority, or that of the ordinary, who is also to instruct the preachers *de materiâ et formâ predicandi* ; the curates being also ordered, at least on holydays, to teach the children of their parishes *prima rudimenta fidei*. And as the example of a good and decorous life gives authority and vigour to the doctrine preached, a general decree has been issued for the reform of the bishops personally, their furniture, household, and table, and for the dispensation of the church revenues, the bishops being also ordered to make their dependent clergy observe the ecclesiastical laws *de vitâ et honestate clericorum*, and to make a brief compendium of the things most necessary, and publish it in their dioceses ; and it has been enacted that the clergy of the higher orders, whether beneficed or not, and those of the lower orders holding benefices, are bound to lead a life becoming the clerical state, both with regard to apparel and everything else. They have especially censured (*dannato*) the illicit matrimonial union of the religious, of professed nuns, and of all persons in holy orders ; to the collation of which orders but little attention being paid, this matter has been regulated, as also that of their serving the bishops. Moreover, touching the collation of benefices, in order that they may be conferred on meritorious persons, an abuse has been remedied whereby those who possessed the right of presentation to a living conceded to others the faculty of presenting before the benefices were vacant, thus giving rise to great disorders. Provision has also been made against simony, which prevailed greatly in England, and most especially by purchasing the favour of the person employed to intercede for the candidate for any benefice. To provide for the conservation of such property as has remained to the churches, orders have been given to observe the "Paulina" and the other ordinances *de . . . is ecclesiis non alienandis*, and that careful inventories be made of all the property of the churches. Certain ancient regulations have been revived about provincial councils, and giving benefices on lease ; and there being a great scarcity in England of ecclesiastical ministers, with risk, unless provision be made, of its increasing daily, orders have been given for every cathedral, according to the quality of the church and extent of the diocese, to rear a certain number of scholars according to ecclesiastical discipline, especial regulations being instituted about the books they are to read and their mode of studying, which may also serve for the other schools throughout the realm. All persons have been prohibited from assuming the charge of teaching without a license from the ordinary, who will give the masters the order to be observed by them in teaching their pupils. In conclusion, certain provisions have been made about the visitations of bishops and others invested with this charge, a compendium being formed of what they are to do, and Pole as Legate has conceded to the bishops the faculty *auctoritate apostolica* to visit exempted places, *pro uniâ vice tantum*, which they will do after Easter, visiting all their dioceses.

1556.

This is the summary of all the provision it has been possible to make at present, endeavouring to bring things back to the ancient ordinances and institutions of the Church without making any innovation. They will now attend to the arrangement of the decrees in order to send them to Morone, that he may present them to the Pope, to whose holy and prudent judgment Pole refers everything as becoming. Amongst the most pious people in England great complaint is heard about the facility with which licenses are obtained at Rome to eat meat at the prohibited times, and for penitents to choose their confessors, of which licenses they make an ill use to their own ruin, and set a bad example to others; the like being done with regard to dispensations on account of incompatibility (*ad incompatibilitatem*); in which matters Pole has proceeded with great caution, this being requisite for the service of God. He has firm hope that the Pope will give a general order about things of this sort, but nevertheless it would be perhaps well for him to make especial provision, *de presenti*, with regard to these things in England, and should Morone think fit he might speak about this to his Holiness.

London, 19th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

397. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CARLO] CARAFFA.

Has letters dated the 6th and 9th from the gentleman sent by him to France, informing him that, on his arrival there, he found the truce was considered settled, and therefore acted according to Pole's order, which was approved by the Nuncio and the English ambassador in France; and in truth, under these circumstances, to have sent the Abbot of San Saluto would have been undignified, which has thus been avoided, without, however, failing to do what was due, though as yet there is nothing new from Brussels. Notwithstanding, the truce is supposed to be concluded, and the French ambassador in London has sent to tell him that he was ordered by his King to congratulate him, as he acknowledged this to be the result of the conference of Calais, and that after performing this same office with the Queen, of whom he had demanded audience, he would go to Pole. Hopes that this may be the commencement of a true and lasting peace.

Has given account to Cardinal Morone, for communication to the Pope, of the prorogation of the synod, and of what it had enacted.

London, 19th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

398. CARDINAL POLE to HENRY II., KING of FRANCE.

His Majesty's ambassador has acquainted him with the conclusion of the truce, at which he rejoices greatly, hoping it may lead to a lasting peace for the complete comfort of Christendom, and especially of the Pope, who lately charged him most warmly to urge both their Majesties to that effect. As the King will have heard that he sent the Abbot of S. Saluto to Brussels, he now writes the present letter, which will be delivered by his gentleman, to congratulate the King on this commencement of quiet.

Greenwich, 20th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.

Feb. 20.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

399. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of LORRAINE.

Congratulates him on the truce, and hopes it may lead to peace. Thanks him for his letter from Rome, and for his friendly demonstrations there, both in public and private.

London, 20th February 1556.

Autograph postscript.—If he had reason previously to urge Lorraine to use his authority and favour with the King about the peace, he has now cause to do so the more strongly on account of this preliminary truce, which he is sure will yet more stimulate him to this good end, in like manner as it will cause Pole to perform every good office with King Philip on his return to England.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

400. CARDINAL POLE to the CONSTABLE of FRANCE.

Montmorency will have heard that Pole sent a messenger to King Henry, in like manner as the Abbot of San Saluto was sent by him to the Emperor and his son to negotiate the peace; and King Henry having informed Pole, through his ambassador, of the truce, he congratulates him on it through this messenger, who will do the like by the Constable, who he is sure will exert himself so that the truce may be followed by a peace.

London, 20th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

401. CARDINAL POLE to the NUNCIO [in France].

Has heard from Mattheo di Priuli that, following his own prudent opinion, he did not present the letter to the King, to whom Pole now writes his congratulations on the conclusion of the truce, as announced to him by the French ambassador.

[London, 20th February 1556?]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. ?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
in MS.

402. CARDINAL POLE to the PRESIDENT of the CONGREGATION of MONTE CASSINO.

The bearer of this letter will be a Venetian hermit called Angel Madonna, whom Pole knew at Rome shortly before his departure thence, and from information received by Pole he is a very worthy person, and was for some years in the hermitage of Monte Spoleto, and in other places likewise. Pole has never much liked this institution of becoming a religious (*di darsi alla religione*) without obedience [to any superior?], and when discussing the subject with Angel Madonna, said he should think it better for him to pass the rest of his life in some monastery, to which he seemed disposed, evincing an especial inclination and affection towards their congregation [of Monte Cassino];* and from a hermitage where he still is he wrote lately to Pole requesting his recommendation and assistance to obtain entry for him into the monastery of Santa Giustina of Padua, or of St. Giorgio of Venice, declaring his readiness to work

* Cardinal Pole was the "Protector" of the Benedictine order of Monte Cassino.

1556.

as much as he can for the service of the monastery by embroidering (*ricamando*), in which art he is very skilful. Pole prays the President to accept and harbour this poor old man, in such place and manner as shall seem fit to him, for in Pole's opinion it will be a very good and pious act.

[London, February 1556 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. ?

403. SAME to SAME.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
in MS.

According to the request of the President and the fathers-expounders (*padri dijñitori*), Pole recommended the congregation to the Cardinal of Trent, as written to them in his letter of the 10th, since when he received their second letter of the 30th ulto., and one from the Abbot of S. Pietro Gasson, complaining of many grievances to which the monasteries in the territory of Trent were subjected, and that they could obtain no favour from the cardinal-bishop because he was so very much offended with them; so they wished for letters from the King to his right reverend lordship recommending their monasteries to him. Pole does not think it well to comply with their request, lest it irritate the bishop, who might think the King acted at Pole's instigation, and, as he had written in their favour, reproach him for distrusting his affection, for which same reason Pole also hesitated to write a second time to the Cardinal of Trent. With regard to the present exactions (*essattioni*), as he understands from the letter of the Abbot of San Pietro that they are still unpaid, no aid or relief whatever can be expected; but, touching the future, Pole will not fail to avail himself of some good opportunity for writing either to the Cardinal or to the Duke of Alva, should he return to those parts, as is apparently expected; and when the King comes to England, will endeavour to obtain letters from him in favour of the monasteries in the diocese of Trent, and do all he can for the benefit of the congregation.

Is anxiously awaiting the arrival from Spain of the "fathers-visitors," hoping they will render good service for the restoration of the monastery [of Westminster?], which is about to be effected.*

Thanks the President for his affectionate remembrance of him in his prayers.

[London, February 1556 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 21.

404. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian Ambassador in France.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
vol. lxix. p. 173.

The reverend French ambassador has acquainted us with the settlement of the quinquennial truce made with the Emperor and his son. The King of France writes to us that his friends have been comprised in this truce, amongst whom he had constantly held our Signory. We made a suitable reply, and hereby charge you to congratulate him, expressing our satisfaction at this loving proof of

* The Benedictines were replaced in the Abbey of Westminster, on the 21st November 1556. (See Machyn's Diary.)

1556.

his Majesty's holding us in the place and grade assigned to his true and confidential friends, which we are.

Ayes, 146. Noes, 2. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 21.

Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 55,
pp. 194, 196.

405. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although to-day consistory assembled, and on such days the Pope does not give audience, one of his Holiness' groomes (*parafreniero*) (*sic*) came to say he would hear me at the 23rd hour, when I went to him, and after the usual compliments the Pope said, "Magnifico Ambassador, we will continue to talk with you unreservedly. We love the Signory, both as Pope and as man. As Pope, seeing that nothing remains in Italy but that daughter of ours; and as man, remembering the many benefits and courtesies received, under all circumstances (*in ogni nostra fortuna*), from those most noble senators. You must have heard what has been said lately about the truce; we believe ourselves to have been the good cause of it, owing to the fear of us felt by certain persons. We were counselled to send nuncios and other personages for the negotiation of the peace or truce. We refused to do so, and believe we did well, for our mind abhors every sort of baseness and supplication; it suffices that for the avoidance of war we have tolerated many things, and should this peace or truce have taken place—for we are not yet sure of it—it would be disgraceful for the Imperialists, who wished to make the world tremble. To speak confidentially with you as usual, we say that any agreement between the Ultramontanes may easily prove detrimental to these wretched remains of Italy, where there is nothing but the State of Venice and the Poppedom. We have never chosen to involve you hitherto in many current affairs, endeavouring to disentangle ourselves single-handed, so great is our love for the most Serene Signory, to whom, should God give us life, we will prove our affection effectually; and we tell you, *de more*, our belief that it would be well for both one and the other of us to stand prepared and with our eyes fixed on our interests, for every reason. Let the Signory amass money, and not forget that they have an Italian and a Venetian Pope, and a true, I will not say vicar, but servant, of Jesus Christ, for whose honour and service I will always hazard my life, my friends, and my property (*facultà*). Were I the servant of a temporal prince, and that I saw him, or his interests, incurring any danger, I should deserve death did I not seek to take the life of the man who sought to injure my master. I have for my Lord—Jesus Christ—from His Divine Majesty I have at all times received so many benefits that were I ever to refuse any sort of peril for His honour and service, I should be cruel and impious. We speak with you in this form because we consider ourselves talking with ourself; nor do we as yet know what may come of this business; it may and it may not be; and if realized we promise you, that even during this truce they will not find us unprovided, as we well know their proceedings."

1556.

To this I replied in general terms, returning thanks for his paternal affection demonstrated towards the Republic, and after a very long interview took leave.

Rome, 21st February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 56, in
p. 197.

406. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday in consistory the Pope conferred several churches, one in Ireland, and also monasteries in France.

Rome, 22nd February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

407. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A courier has arrived from the Duke of Ferrara with letters for his ambassador and for a secretary whom his Excellency keeps here. *The Duke wrote to the latter, "We are compelled, by one who has the power to command us, to do a thing which will not be advantageous for their Majesties; so we, having such regard for your person as is due for the good service received from you, you will depart immediately from their Majesties' courts."* The ambassador tells me that he also is recalled, *and commissioned to tell their Majesties as of himself, that he thinks the Duke his master will be compelled (to use his own identical words) to do something or other which it will not be to the satisfaction of their Majesties to hear;* and that he had intended going to the King at Antwerp, but hearing that his Majesty will return shortly, he shall wait for him, and then execute the order as the spirit shall dictate to him; remarking to me diffusely that according to his belief it was given him by the Duke *rather to show himself a man capable of resentment, having already protested against the precedence in favour of the Duke of Florence, and to create suspicion about other affairs of his,* than because his Excellency has any wish to declare himself opposed to their Majesties, either to content the Pope or the King of France. Since the residence here of the secretary and the ambassador they have always been at enmity with each other, the one being considered a Frenchman, the other an Imperialist; so for the ambassador's sake, as also for that of the chief ministers, the ambassador having written to the Duke that the Bishop of Arras had complained of the secretary, his Excellency recalls the latter, and for contrary reasons will not make use of the ambassador.

The Emperor's courtiers and those of the King, according to my letters from Antwerp, are afraid that a league has been formed between the Princes aforesaid, and I am expressly asked about this, *being told openly that your Serenity is suspected of having a secret understanding with them, and comments are made about the Republic's negotiations with the Duke of Urbino for the purpose of taking him into your service, as likewise respecting the galliot captured by the Provost of your fleet, and because of your anger on*

1556.

account of the seizure in Sicily of your two ships by Don Juan de Vega as an act of reprisal.

Brussels, 22nd February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 22.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

408. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose copy of the treaty of truce, and also of the articles agreed to apart,* but no intelligence having yet arrived about the arrangement having been made (*dell'ordine che si sia dato*) concerning the ratification of the truce, nor for the release of the prisoners, everybody is much astonished, but the Constable's cheerful mien relieves most people from any suspicions which might arise.

The Brescian Dom Gio. Francesco Stella, Cardinal Pole's auditor, has arrived here, who comes from Rome, having departed thence last December, on a summons from the Cardinal to go to England. The Pope gave him briefs for King Philip and Queen Mary, and for his right reverend Lordship, acquainting them with the office performed some time ago in consistory by the Cardinal of Lorraine,† demonstrating the good disposition of his most Christian Majesty, and his inclination towards the peace and quiet of Christendom. In these briefs the Pope expressed a certain wish that the disputes between these Majesties should be referred to his Holiness' arbitration, which the most Christian King offered to accept, and Stella brought another brief to his Majesty, announcing the office thus enjoined him; and he had audience first of the Constable, and then of the King; but the answer received by him from both one and the other of them, was in general terms suited to his delay in executing the commission; and from what he said he also purposes presenting himself to the King of England, and will proceed to the Queen and to her Cardinal.

Blois, 22nd February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22.
Filza, No 134.
Miscellanea
di atti diversi
manoseritti,
Venetian
Archives.

409. WILLIAM RYCE to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

Having the opportunity of this messenger, could not but take upon himself "this boldness to write unto your lordship. Your lordship shall understand the Queen's Majesty is in very good health, thanks be unto God." Has no other news except the truce between the King our master [Philip II.] and the French King, as it is said, for five years; "to a certainty whereof at the writing of this letter I did not know, but on the 20th instant the French ambassador desired audience, which was granted; judges it was for that matter.

The King's Majesty is yet in Flanders, where he hath solemnized the feast of the "Toyson," but for his return to England, as yet it is not known. Hopes it will be before Easter.

* Neither of these documents have been found.

† As mentioned in the despatch from Navagero, dated Rome, 30th November 1555.

1556.

My Lady your mother is in very good health, and hath been lately at the court, where the Queen's highness made very much of her, which I was right glad to see; and I doubt not but shortly to see your lordship here with a safe return with much honour to yourself, and comfort to all your friends, which I pray God shortly send to his pleasure.

I am desired by divers of the ladies and gentlewomen to make their most hearty commendations unto your lordship, as my Lady Ane Wharton, my Lady Waldegrave, Mrs. Clarencieux (Clarencious), Mrs. Fynche, Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Baynam, otherwise called my Lady Stokleyes, who hath lost her maidenhood since you were here, not forgetting my wife, also with many others of your friends.

By the hands of him that is all your Lordship's ever to command.
(Signed) William Ryce.

Greenwich, 22nd February 1556.

[*Original, holograph, directed:*] "To the Right Honorable and his very good lord, the Earl of Devonshire, to be delivered."

[*Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary:*] "Mr. Ryce, 22 February 1556. By Prune, from England to Venice."

Feb. 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

410. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A courier from Antwerp informs me that the King of Spain sent for the ambassadors of Florence and Mantua, and for the agent of Genoa, telling them that the truce is settled, and that he would give them a copy of the articles; so it is supposed that his Majesty has even signed them, as the King of France is reported to have done. Yesterday many people of the trades went about Antwerp on cars, making sundry signs of rejoicing, and from a Flemish gentleman who came hither from the frontiers, and is said to have been on a mission from King Philip to the King of France, it is heard that in several frontier places the poor people, the subjects of either crown, had commenced rebuilding their dwellings which were burned and destroyed during the war.

My letters from Antwerp say that the King's speedy return to Brussels is no longer talked of; and indeed one of the chief ministers said that the deputies of these provinces would perhaps receive fresh orders to go to his Majesty at Antwerp instead of at Brussels. The Nuncio, and the Portuguese, Ferrarese, and Sienese ambassadors, who have to negotiate with the King, are in doubt whether they ought to go to him or not, as on the one hand they wish to execute the commissions enjoined them, and on the other are afraid of importuning his Majesty, Don Ruy Gomez and the Bishop of Arras having given them to understand that he preferred appointing their audiences here rather than at Antwerp, keeping them still in hope of his returning shortly, and if not, he would let them know, so that they may make the communications with which they are charged.

It is confirmed that many troops are being raised in Saxony, and that the Landgrave has already 12 regiments (*bandiere*) of infantry on foot, and a good amount of cavalry, saying that he chooses to be prepared, lest the Prince of Orange, their Majesties' general, when

1556.

the forces are disbanded on account of the truce, attack him by reason of a dispute between them about a county ;* but here they are very suspicious of the Landgrave, owing to past events, although apparently he shows every mark of observance and submission (*servitù*) towards the Emperor, evincing especial obligation to Queen Maria for the courtesy shown him when he was a prisoner. Some persons say these troops have been raised for the affairs of Middelburg and Augsburg, whilst others suspect the Landgrave and other princes of making this stir that they may have a fair opportunity, not only for not going next month to the Diet at Ratisbon, as they promised the King of the Romans, but also for dispensing themselves from sending forces for the defence of Transylvania against the Turk, as each of those princes wishes it to be restored to the son of the late King John [Zapolski] of Hungary. The Bishop of Arras and Don Ruy Gomez returned me thanks for the newsletters from Constantinople, and yet more for the loving words which they know me to have uttered to everybody in these troublous times with regard to events in Italy, namely, that your Serenity is and always will be on terms of firm friendship with their Majesties here, and the like office has been performed with me by Colonel Aldana, who told me Don Luis de Avila said this had given very great satisfaction to all the chamber attendants of the Emperor, who, as well as the King of Spain, placed great trust in your Serenity ; and although the movements of the Pope and the Duke of Ferrara cause their Majesties great suspicion, yet they say openly that they do not fear them, provided the Republic make no movement, and have no secret understanding. I do not fail to rid them of these thoughts, in conformity with what I know to be your Serenity's intention.

This courier conveys the grant made by the King to Don Ruy Gomez of the town of Eboli in the principality of Salerno. The revenue amounts to about 3,000 crowns annually. Don Ruy Gomez, however, does not call himself duke, but is addressed by the title of Excellency.

Brussels, 24th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

411. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL [CARLO] CARAFFA.

Was very glad to hear by Caraffa's letter of the 18th ulto. that the Pope, in order to give sure pledge and testimony of his holy purpose of executing the reform, had chosen to commence with the Datary's office, so that by spontaneously depriving himself at these times of his own emoluments, the others, with this example, may willingly support any temporal inconvenience which the said reform may subject them to. The greatest praise will accrue to the Pope from this reform, from which his Holiness will derive the utmost praise, and it may be hoped that God of his goodness will most amply remunerate his piety ; and Pole is of opinion that by these means those who have strayed will be recalled to the unity of the

* The estate of Catzenelo-Vogen. (See Foreign Calendar, p. 244, letter of Sir John Mason to Queen Mary, date Antwerp, 28 February 1556.)

1556.

Church and to their obedience to the Apostolic See, and all others be confirmed therein.

As to the affairs relating to these princes, all cause for umbrage and suspicion ought in reason to subside on the conclusion of this truce, nor has Pole failed to assure their Majesties of the Pope's good will towards them, as proved by his having appointed Caraffa's brother, the Count of Montorio, Captain-General of the Church.

On the 19th Pole informed Caraffa of the announcement made to him about the truce by the French ambassador, so he thought fit to thank his Majesty, congratulating him on it as a disposition towards peace, for which Pole is certain the Pope will continue to perform every warm and paternal office with both parties, both in order more conveniently to execute his holy projects with regard to the spiritual reform of the Church, and the quiet government of his temporal subjects.

Before Easter Pole purposes going to his church, after being ordained presbyter in London,* and there receiving subsequently the episcopal consecration and the "pallium," and has already asked leave of their Majesties to make this journey, they being very well aware how much that province needs the presence of its prelate.

After Easter, by means of some of his attendants who are returning to Italy, Pole will give the Pope full account of his own state, and of affairs in England, where they are still in hopes of the King's speedy return, most especially after hearing of the conclusion of this truce, about which Pole does not write further particulars to Caraffa, knowing that the nuncios at Brussels and in France, who were more at hand, will have given him all its details.

Greenwich, 25th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

412. CARDINAL POLE to [GIROLAMO MUZZARELLI] Archbishop of Conza.

Has received his letters of the 14th and 15th, alluding to another about the truce which never arrived. Amongst the Roman letters forwarded by Muzzarelli was one from Cardinal Caraffa, which, after alluding to the negotiation of the Cardinal of Lorraine at Rome, announced the election of Caraffa's brother to the post of Captain-General of the Church, which will convince the Emperor and King Philip (*quelle maestà*) of the Pope's goodwill towards them, this military command being given to a person so much in their confidence. Pole is certain that this will have been written to Muzzarelli, who will not have failed through this and every other opportunity to perform every good office, as Pole likewise has done; and he hopes this truce will facilitate the peace which is so desirable for the common weal, and to give the Pope quiet in his temporal state, and greater convenience for executing his holy projects, about which also Cardinal Caraffa has written to him.

Pole informed Muzzarelli that after the return to England of the Abbot, he wrote to France by Priuli's nephew, who found the truce concluded, and therefore did nothing further, and it was much to

* In Grey Friars Church, 20th March 1556. (See Hook, p. 316.)

1556.

the purpose his not having sent the Abbot, whose return from Brussels to England previously would have rendered Pole liable to some affront, which was thus avoided, without failing in what was due. The French ambassador in London has congratulated the Queen and Pole in his King's name on this truce, acknowledging it to proceed from the pains taken at the conference of Calais, with the hope that it may lead to peace. Prays God that thus may it come to pass, be the means what they may. With regard to the Abbot of San Saluto [Vincenzo Parpaglia], Pole by long experience has had palpable evidence of what Muzzarelli says about the certainty of his being sincere, for which reason he has always willingly employed him for this negotiation for peace, as also in many other affairs; thanks Muzzarelli for his affectionate notice of the subject.

As the English prelates are to be in their dioceses by the beginning of Lent, the synod has been adjourned until the 10th of November next, to provide for some matters which remain for settlement. Has thought fit to send immediately a summary of the proceedings to the Pope, with a letter to Cardinal Morone, Vice-Protector [of England], until the transmission of the decrees, and encloses a copy of the information for Muzzarelli. Is preparing to go to his church before Easter, and has already asked leave of their Majesties, who are well aware of the need those places have of their pastor.

Greenwich, 25th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 28.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

413. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has sent M. de Lalain to Cambrai, where he is to confer with the Admiral of France, and they will confront together the agreement and its signature by both their Majesties, whereupon the said Lalain will proclaim the truce on the frontiers of the King of Spain; but although this act has not yet been performed, the subjects of the most Christian King have for some days commenced frequenting several places in these provinces both by land and sea, and three days ago two ships arrived in Zealand. The Queens [Maria and Eleanor] and the Duchess of Lorraine arrived here yesterday, and the King is expected in three days.

Brussels, 28th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 28.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

414. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Count de Lalain, the Emperor's commissioner at the conference for the truce, has written to the Admiral that his Imperial Majesty and the King of England have ordered him to come to this court to have the truce ratified (*per far fare la ratificazione delle tregue*); and his most Christian Majesty sent a similar order to the Admiral to go to the Emperor and King Philip for the same purpose, so on the 12th of next month he will leave St. Quentin, where he now is, for Brussels. Yesterday his Majesty departed hence for Amboise, where he will remain to effect the aforesaid ratification

1556.

and he will be some ten days on the road for his field sports (*piacere di caccia*), and I in like manner shall follow him as usual.

The Duke of Soma, who was sent hither by the Pope, has now been despatched by the King with every assurance to his Holiness that his Majesty will never fail in the protection promised by him to the Pope and all his family and relations; in like manner as I understand that the King by every sort of good office on all occasions will not fail to keep his Holiness well confirmed in his bias (*di tenere la Santità sua confermata*), being apprehensive lest his covert anger (*sdegno occulto*), caused by the stipulation of the truce, if he be plied (*praticata*) by the Imperialists, and if they offer him terms, should make him change his will and opinion, which is apparently not considered impossible here.

The Duke of Soma brought letters from the Pope strongly urging the King to make his Excellency a Knight of the Order [of St. Michael], as was done last Sunday, greatly to his honour, to which was added a pension of three thousand francs; and as a yet greater demonstration towards his Holiness, the King has appointed the Duke general of the Italian infantry, a very honourable and profitable post; in return for which he is to do his utmost in the King's name, and in that of her most Christian Majesty [Catherine de' Medici], to induce the Pope to give the hat to the brother of the late Cardinal Salviati, which demand is now repeated, it having been heard here that during these Ember-days the Pope purposed creating a good number of cardinals at the suit of his most Christian Majesty, but owing to the truce it is supposed his Holiness will have cooled; at any rate, both their Majesties would wish for the promotion of this personage.

Blois, 28th February 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 28.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 57,
p. 200.

415. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The suspension of hostilities between the most Christian King and the King of England may still encounter some difficulty, although besides the letters of the 18th from the King of France, which confirm it, there are also letters of the 16th from the Nuncio at Brussels to the Count of Montorio to the same effect, but without particulars; which letters his Excellency most kindly sent to communicate to me. These various accounts of this truce purport that, although it has been made, there will be no lack of opportunity for a speedy rupture. What we see here is open dissatisfaction, which cannot be dissembled on the part of Cardinal Caraffa, and it is heard that the Imperialists are in greater force than ever on the borders of the kingdom of Naples. To this must be moreover added words uttered by the Pope in public against the Spaniards, calling them Moriscos (*Marani*),* and saying that God of his good-

* The word is not to be found in Pasini's Italian and Latin Dictionary, but in Frizzi's History of Ferrara (vol. 4, p. 467), it is said to signify circumcised Portuguese and Spaniards, of whom he says, that in the year 1590, there were 200 in the Jewry at Ferrara.

1556

ness does not choose them any longer to remain in Italy, and that his Holiness will not disarm until they set him the example, as he remembers what befell Clement VII. from trusting to them. But what moves the Pope more, and gives cause for doubt and suspense, is that as yet no one has appeared in the name of the King of England to give news of this truce, it seeming to his Holiness that from the 3rd instant, when it was signed, down to this day, which is the last of the month, advice should have been sent as a friendly demonstration, and that this delay indicates the little esteem in which the King holds his Holiness, and the little trust he places in him.

Rome, 28th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March. 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

416. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio has again been commissioned by the Count of Montorio to assure both the Emperor and the King that the Pope remains armed, and mentally agitated, just cause for this being given him by the ministers and dependants of their Majesties, and not because he purposes acting in any way hostilely against their Majesties; he, on the contrary, being well disposed towards them; and the Nuncio in like manner vouched vehemently for the present obsequiousness of said Count towards their Majesties, and said that he purposes persevering in it, in which straits the Nuncio discourses with everybody, *though no one believes these offices to proceed from the heart either of his Holiness or of the Count, but they are performed designedly, coming especially through the medium of this Nuncio, who is supposed to be an agent extremely partial to their Majesties here.* Colonel Aldana and Don Enriquez, and other Spanish gentlemen, have told me *that the Pope did his utmost to prevent this truce, and they demonstrate the ridiculousness of believing what the Queen of England wrote to her consort, that the most Christian King had chosen to condescend to the stipulation of the truce, being moved to do so principally by the words of the Pope, and then by the Queen herself.* Many personages of the chamber and court of the King of Spain arrived here to-day, and to-morrow his Majesty will leave Antwerp on his return to the Emperor, by whom I understand he has been urged to come.

Sir John Masone, councillor of the Queen of England, has been to pray his Majesty in the name of Cardinal Pole, and by a letter from his right reverend lordship, to be pleased to let him know at what time he purposes crossing over to England, he being very anxious to receive from the King the following favour, that having to sing his first mass his Majesty should be present at it. The King answered him that he should be glad of the opportunity, and hoped that his passage would take place soon, as on arriving here he would speed the despatch of many of his affairs in order to return to the Queen his consort. *But according to what some persons say, the King seems but little inclined to go to England speedily for the satisfaction of the Queen, she showing herself but luke-*

1556.

warm in fact, although ardent in appearance about such things as it seems she might do for the King's honour and profit (ma per quanto dicono alcuni, poco mostra infatti il Re di voler andar in quel Regno speditamente per dar satisfattione alla Regina, non si mostrando Lei se non tepida in quelle cose che pare che ella potria far per honor et utile del Re); but he will go thither in order to show the world the authority exercised by him in that kingdom, and also because it is convenient for his necessary voyage to Spain, which is generally expected to take place without fail in three or four months; and the Bishop of Arras and M. de la Chaux told the Mantuan ambassador, who repeated it to me, that according to their belief the Emperor will give leave to all the ambassadors who shall choose to do so to serve the King.

Don Luis de Avila,* the senior chamberlain in the Emperor's service, and Don Ernando de la Cerda, also an official of the Imperial chamber, as likewise several other Spanish gentlemen, twenty in number, have in like manner demanded their discharge (which they obtained) in order that they also may go to Spain, some by land through France, and some with the ships of Don Luis Caravajal, on board of which divers effects of the King, which were considered unnecessary, have been embarked.

This determination of de Avila to depart was caused in great part by his extreme resentment at not having been appointed to any office, especially in the council of state of the King of Spain, neither in the first election of councillors, who were six, nor in that of six others which his Majesty made subsequently, who are said to be absent, their names not being published, and they are all Spaniards.

It is said that the King of Spain has written to the Duke of Albuquerque, viceroy of Navarre, that he purposes sending him to reside in England during his absence, as he has experience of that country; and it is supposed by the Spaniards that he will not accept that post, in which case, it is said, that for the present year he will send Don Diego de Azevedo.

There have arrived at Antwerp the Marquis of Arranti, who went as ambassador in the King's name to the Lords of the Rhine and the Dukes of Wurtemberg and Bavaria to inform them of the renunciations of these States made to him by the Emperor; and there has also arrived Alvise Vanega, the King's harbinger major (*forrier maggiore*), sent by him some time ago with part of the money for his sister the Queen of Bohemia, and to perform sundry loving offices with the Kings of the Romans and of Bohemia.

The Duchess of Lorraine says she will not send anyone to condole with her sister on the death of the Elector Palatine, as the Emperor and the King did, but will go herself in person, and then purposes returning to Lorraine to enjoy her property, hoping that the most Christian King will grant her son the grace to replace him in his duchy.

The Landgrave has his cavalry and infantry in readiness, but as

* His commentaries on the Emperor's war against the Protestants of Germany was printed in Spain in 1546. It was one of the books which the Emperor took with him to Yuste. (See Mignet, Charles-Quint, son abdication, &c., p. 215, ed. Paris, 1868.)

1556.

yet he gives no indication of marching them out of his own territory so immediately; it is also said that he is supposed to have acted from suspicion of the Prince of Orange, rather than on any other account, it having come to the Landgrave's knowledge that when the truce was proclaimed a great number of soldiers said they would go and serve the Prince gratis, by reason of the good treatment they had received from him.

Four days ago at Mechlin three male Anabaptists were arrested, as also a woman of the same religious tenets, from whose house they removed her son, a youth 14 years of age, and christened him in public, and she and the three men were burned yesterday; and before their deaths they accused many others of this same heresy. The President Viglius,* when speaking about this matter, said that in Holland, according to the list received by him, the number of persons condemned to death for similar opinions and for Lutheranism in 18 months, and who had been either burned, hanged, or drowned, amounted to 1,300, and that for the avoidance of greater cruelty the execrable intentions of these sectarians must be tolerated as much as possible, they being in too great number.

The Duke of Cleves also writes to King Philip that there are so many of his subjects who would fain communicate *sub utroque*, that were he to proceed against them as they deserve he would find it impossible, and that he is aware of being unable any longer to keep them to their duty.

In order to perform the office enjoined me by your Serenity, I sent my secretary to M. de la Chaux to ask for audience of the Emperor, but the answer was that his Majesty, being troubled with the gout, could not grant my request at present, but would do so willingly when he is free from it, and on the arrival of the King of Spain I will announce to him your Serenity's election of Messer Michiel Suriano to reside with his Majesty.

Brussels, 1st March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 3.
Senato Terra,
vol. 40, p. 93.

417. ADDITIONAL COST of the PRESENT voted for the MARQUIS of EXETER.

On the 15th ulto. this council authorised our college to spend to the amount of 100 ducats on things (*robbe*) and refreshments to be presented to the most illustrious Lord Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, and as the cost incurred for the aforesaid present comes in all to the sum of 128 ducats, 1 grosso, and 16 soldi, it being therefore fitting to defray this cost,—

Put to the ballot, that of the moneys of our Signory there be given to our officials of the office for old accounts (*rason vecchie*) the above-written 128 ducats, 1 grosso, and 16 soldi, to settle with those from whom the things and refreshments aforesaid were taken.

Ayes, 152. No, 1. Neutral, 2.

Read on the 21st February 1550.

[*Italian.*]

* President of the Council of Brussels. (See Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, Index.)

1556.

March 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

418. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of Spain arrived yesterday with his whole court, and dismounted at the Emperor's villa (*casino*). Early this morning he returned to the Emperor, with whom he heard mass and had a very long conversation. M. de Lalain departed for Cambrai to show the Admiral of France the signatures of the Emperor and the King of Spain affixed to the articles of the truce, and to inspect the French King's signature, and also to have the truce proclaimed on the borders of their Imperial and Spanish Majesties, as was done many days ago on the French frontiers, after which he was to proceed, the Admiral, on the other hand, coming to these courts.

Since the departure of M. de Lalain the subjects of one side and the other have occupied certain villages in several quarters; the French have also arrested divers subjects of the King of Spain, and four couriers who had been sent through France, two to Spain and the others to Italy. Certain Frenchmen write to their relations and friends from the French frontiers that they were moved thus to do from having seen that their King's subjects had been sent away from Antwerp, and prohibited to enter San Thome (*sic*) and other places, and that not only had the Spaniards not proclaimed the truce, but were the first to seize certain places, claiming the right to do all this until the proclamation; whereas the French maintain that the truce should take effect from the day of its date, and that this long delay in proclaiming it must have been for the purpose of gaining some place and territory, or from a wish to gain repute with the world by acting in this way. On the other hand the Spaniards say that after the arrival in France of M. de Lausac they believe that the King or his ministers, *from certain hopes given to his most Christian Majesty that the Pope would declare himself openly owing to the affairs of Tuscany*, delayed the Admiral's mission to King Philip, although he had announced it to his Majesty by M. de Lalain; so to deprive the French of an opportunity for revoking what has been stipulated, a courier was despatched yesterday to M. de Lalain desiring him to write to the Admiral that the Emperor and King Philip were content that whatever had been occupied since the date of the truce should be restored to its former state. To-day the Regent of Milan when speaking to me about this matter, said that on the 11th instant they will receive the true reply concerning the will of the French, and that he hoped that what he and the other commissioners stipulated at Cambrai would take effect, provided the French do not grow malignant (*caso che Francesi non volessero malignare*), the only remaining difficulties relating to the chief prisoners; and that to confess the truth freely, these ministers of the King of Spain had also erred by not having the truce proclaimed immediately, as they ought to have done, thus to reciprocate the proceedings of the French in this matter.

The articles of the truce, printed in France, have arrived at Antwerp, and for the sake of no longer detaining the ambassadors of the powers concerned who earnestly demanded them, their suit has at length been granted, the Florentine having received his copy

1556.

some days before the others. Encloses a transcript of them. Don Ernando de la Cerda, an official of his Majesty's chamber, and some other Spanish gentlemen have left for Spain, and as they had safe-conduct from the King of France before the stipulation of the truce, it is supposed they will be allowed to pass.

Brussels, 5th March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 7.

Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 58,
pp. 203, 206.

419. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope has desired me to tell you that the ratification of this truce being so long delayed, and knowing its articles to be so disadvantageous for the Imperialists, he suspects them of having benefited themselves by some secret clause, which can relate to nothing but the States of the Church, or to those of your Serenity; and that as to himself he will make such provision as not to be found unprepared. He then added, "With regard to your affairs we are convinced that the same thoughts have occurred to those most prudent senators, who otherwise would be neither good nor sage, but traitors to themselves. We tremble also at that name of Cambrai, so fatal to your Republic, and indeed to Italy, which reminds us that those who made this truce are barbarians, and that it is for their own interest, the Constable choosing thus to recover his son, and Madame de Valentinois her son-in-law, without even waiting two days for the Cardinal of Lorraine, who by that time would have arrived at the court. We believe it was for the sake of depressing the Guise faction (*questa parte*) which is opposed to him, and who knows what the Cardinal of Lorraine may effect after his arrival; he is the soul of the King, and has so many brave brothers, and is well acquainted with the affairs of Italy. And to conceal nothing from you as usual we will add two things; one is, that when these Switzer ambassadors were passing through a part of the territory of those friends" [the Imperialists] "the most illustrious governor there," — the Count of Montorio, who was present, adding, "His Holiness means the Cardinal of Trent," — "inquired whether it was true that we had sent to raise 4,000 Switzers; to which the ambassadors replied that his Holiness had not sent to raise any amount of troops, but that if he required them they would give him not 4,000 but 10,000, and as many as we might choose, and that even the women would come for our defence, by reason of our grandeur (*per la nostra grandezza*); on hearing which reply, *obmutuit, non aperiens os suum*. The other is, that we are in hopes that a part of the Germans (*di quelli di Germania*), *qui discesserunt a nobis*, may through a good medium be brought back, and if not brought back on account of the religion, they always will, and say they will, be on our side, owing to their natural hatred of these kings and tyrants, who usurp the liberty of others, and plot against it. We have chosen to unbosom everything to you, because we believe that we can talk with you as with our nephew here, the Count of Montorio, and all our conceits will

1556.

invariably be communicated to you. Represent them in the form which we know is familiar to you to those sage elders and consummate statesmen (*a quei savij vecchi consumati nel governo de' stati*). If it were in our power we would go in person to Venice, but some day we shall perhaps send you, Count; and this magnifico the ambassador" (speaking of me) "will not fail to write, as he has done hitherto, what we have said to him." I replied that thus would I do according to my duty; and after returning thanks for the great confidence evinced by his Holiness in your Serenity and in me, as also for his very manifest care for the most Serene Republic, I took leave.

Although aware of the great prudence of the most excellent Senate, I will not omit respectfully to suggest, that on several accounts, it cannot but be beneficial for the State to keep what I write very secret.

Rome, 28th February 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 7.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 60,
pp. 206, 207.

420. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Whilst the court was in suspense about the non-signature of the truce, letters arrived from the French court dated the 20th, addressed to Cardinal Farnese by his agent the Reverend Tiburtio, together with a copy of the treaty in French, containing a clause which stipulates that the Princes are to sign it within six weeks.

Rome, 7th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

421. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Concerning the truce, I have nothing more of importance to communicate; all the personages of the Imperial and Royal courts most strongly suspect the King of France of intending to find an opportunity for making his ministers cancel (*disconciare*) what has been done. This suspicion is increased by all the letters from Italy, and especially from Rome, informing their Majesties and all the ministers that the Pope, although he made a show of rejoicing at this truce, regretted it extremely; his mind being more restless than ever, and his thoughts turned chiefly to the affairs of Tuscany; and although the Nuncio congratulated the King of Spain in the Pope's name on the renunciation of the states made to him by the Emperor, and that his Holiness is excellently disposed towards their Majesties, yet nevertheless there is no minister nor any person, be his condition what it may, who in the least believes what this Nuncio said, and continues saying to everybody; many persons being of opinion that the Pope, in order to cause the Emperor and the King of Spain to have a good opinion of him, made the Nuncio perform these offices, knowing that being an Imperialist at heart, and interested on account of his archbishopric of Conza in the kingdom of Naples, he wishes matters to proceed favourably for the King of Spain.

Three days ago I announced to the King the appointment of the

1556.

ambassador Suriano, and congratulated his Majesty on the conclusion of the truce. He answered me with a very cheerful countenance that these loving offices resembled those invariably performed by your Serenity with the Emperor; and that having been made the heir of his states, he chose also to inherit the good friendship invariably maintained by his Imperial Majesty with your Serenity; and that as to the truce he had inclined towards it for the benefit of Christendom, for whom he should always desire a good peace. Concerning the affair of the galliot taken by the Proveditor of the fleet, as nothing was said to me either by the King or any of the ministers, I said not a word about it, and to such courtiers as discussed the matter with me, I made such replies of my own accord, as commissioned by your Serenity, nor do I find anyone who does not commend what was done, or who is otherwise than convinced of your goodwill towards the Emperor and King Philip, both by reason of the election of the ambassador, as also through the "advices" from Venice and from Rome, demonstrating that you have not the slightest thought *in conformity either with the Pope or with others* about moving, should it be chosen to make a stir of arms in Italy. I was unable to perform similar offices with the Emperor, as he does not give audience to any ambassador, being in bed with the gout, which has molested him in such wise as to cause a violent paroxysm of fever, from which, however, he is now freed, and the pain is somewhat diminished.

The deputies of these provinces have arrived here, and the King will demand 600,000 crowns from them, it being said that but little less would suffice for payment of the officials of these two courts, and of the Spanish and German troops on these frontiers.

Brussels, 9th March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pusini.*]

March 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

422. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In execution of the Signory's missive dated the 21st ultimo I went to-day to his most Christian Majesty, having been first, as usual, with the Constable, who told me that in Corsica Giordano Orsini had recovered 200 Christian slaves who were wrecked on board the Imperial galleys, having released all of them save a few Spaniards and other commanders (*capi*) who were on board; doing the like also by 600 Turks and Moors, it being his most Christian Majesty's intention to free the Turks and send them to Sultan Soliman at Constantinople. He had also recovered some guns, and hoped also to get some more, forming a total of 70. The said Signor Giordano has imprisoned some of the crews, to ascertain what these Imperial galleys had intended doing, as on board of them he found a great number of long scaling ladders, nor could he as yet learn positively whether they purposed plundering San Fiorenzo and making themselves masters of the old harbour.

After returning thanks to his Excellency for this communication, I told him that I was commissioned by your Serenity to

1556.

congratulate his most Christian Majesty on the conclusion of the truce, and to thank him for having included your Serenity in it, and also to congratulate his Excellency, who might be called the principal author of this boon conferred on Christendom. To this he replied that so great was the conformity between the course of fortune which the most Christian King ran and that of your Serenity that it was not surprising if what was agreeable to the one should gratify the other; and that, as to himself, he had never failed performing every good office for the quiet of Christendom, without any consideration for the imprisonment of his son, his brother-in-law, and his nephew M. d'Andelot, and he thanked your Serenity for the honour you did him. I asked him when the Admiral would go to the Emperor to effect the ratification, and he replied, "The King will not ratify until after the decision about the affair (*la materia*) of the prisoners;" and then, having reached the King's presence, after delivering your Serenity's congratulatory letter, his Majesty replied that he greatly thanked your Serenity for your goodwill, and that thinking that the conclusion of the truce would be agreeable to your Serenity, and that it had also taken place advantageously for you (*et non meno l'esser seguito con vantaggio suo*), he had chosen to acquaint you with it immediately.

With regard to the nomination of the Signory, the King said that it was much less than he wished to do on any occasion that might present itself to him: and after receiving my thanks he added, "The Emperor has already made (*fatto*) his ratification, and sent it to M. de Lalain, as I also did mine to the Admiral, and the said Lalain wanted to send his that he might come to me as customary, but I did not choose this, and indeed I sent an express order to the Admiral not to receive it, nor to send mine, until a conclusion be come to (*sino che non si concluda*) about the prisoners, as I do not intend the matter to remain thus;" and he then continued, "It is usual for the commissioners on both sides reciprocally to convey these first ratifications, with which they subsequently enter the respective territories, and mine will then go to the Emperor and the King of England, and his will come to me, in presence of whom, and in public, the final ratification will be solemnly made." Thereupon I said, "Sire, your Majesty treats me so confidentially that I shall venture to tell you what is said at the court. That everybody remains in suspense, perceiving that on the part of the Emperor no proclamation whatever is made, it being indeed reported that the Marquis of Pescara declares he knows nothing at all about it, and that he was continuing the war; and it seems that the Pope likewise is in some trouble; in addition to which it is not yet heard that any communication whatever has been made, even to the Queen of England."

To this his Majesty replied, "Ambassador, believe me that the Count de Lalain is most earnest about the ratification, although I had him answered as I told you; and with regard to their wish for it I will give you the following proof—that immediately on hearing of the conclusion certain French merchants went about their merchandise into the Emperor's territory, where they

1556.

were arrested, and having complained about this to the Admiral they were all released immediately, their captors being punished; but the reason why neither this business nor any other obtains despatch at the court of the King of England is that as yet he has not much experience, and there is so much disagreement amongst his ministers that what is done by one the other would fain undo; and the following particular I can tell you for certain, that the Bishop of Arras avoids interfering in the negotiations as much as ever he can." I asked his Majesty when the term appointed for the ratification expired. He said in nine days, within which period, should the affair of the prisoners not be settled, he has consented to its prolongation. My belief is, though he did not really say so, that in the meanwhile they will either send a messenger, or something more will be heard than we know at present.

This conversation having ended thus, we commenced talking about the beautiful site of this palace, and the fine country this is, discussing other similar topics, and having stayed a long while with his Majesty I took leave, and then performed the office enjoined me by your Serenity with the most Christian Queen. Her Majesty received me very graciously, returning you many thanks, and in course of conversation said to me, "We must believe that his Divine Majesty will reward the King for his good intention, as he has assuredly consented to make this adjustment at a moment when the Emperor was at the last extremity (*quando l'Imperatore non poteva più*), as is evident to the whole world, he having been induced thus to do for the benefit of Christendom, and not for his own advantage; as, besides there being no urgent need of money here, we had the Pope and so many others in our favour that we had nothing more to wish for; but praised be God for everything." I then went to perform the like office as enjoined me by your Serenity also with Madame Marguerite,* who showed herself beyond measure grateful, thanking your Serenity for it infinitely. She in like manner commended the King's goodness, saying, "The others do not act in like manner by him, for it seems to me that they do not comport themselves like Princes, as they ought to do."

With regard to this matter, it is heard in secret that the King and the Constable are in some apprehension about these proceedings of the Imperialists, lest it be their desire to protract this ratification as long as they can, in order by any ways and means in their power to make themselves masters of some important fortress (qualche piazza di importanza), and some persons greatly fear that the Pope may incur some detriment, or else that, finding himself deserted here, he may make some fresh arrangement with the Imperialists; and although as yet nothing can be ascertained authentically about the state of the case, there are at least various indications to prove that there is no slight disquiet, and the King remains constantly alone with the Constable, they keeping as much aloof from this negotiation as they possibly can, the Cardinal of

* Marguerite de Valois, sister of Henry II., and who in 1559 (July 9) became the consort of Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy.

1556.

Lorraine, the Duke de Guise, and the Marshal de St. André, these and the Constable being the sole members of the council for affairs* (consiglio di affari) [foreign affairs?].

Amboise, 9th March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 12.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

423. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning the King came to hear mass in the monastery where I am lodged, and I having gone to salute and pay my respects to him, he himself told me what had been told me shortly before in his name by a gentleman, that last night advices arrived from the Admiral announcing a conference held by him with M. de Lalain, at which it was settled that all the prisoners should be now released, except the Duke de Bouillon and the Constable's son on the one side, and the Duke d'Arsehot on the other; on the terms already notified, namely, that each individual was to pay one year's annual rental, and in like manner such pension or stipend as was received by him during that same period from his Prince; and those whose fathers are alive, to be ransomed for merely one half of their fathers' annual revenues, the sons paying their entire pensions for one year. With regard to the three above-written personages, Count de Lalain promised on the word of the Emperor, and of the King his son, that within the term of three months the two Frenchmen should be released for such fair pecuniary ransom as should be stipulated with his most Christian Majesty; the Admiral promising the like respecting the Duke d'Arsehot. The King told me besides that Spanish couriers had arrived here with orders to go, accompanied by those who would be despatched by his most Christian Majesty, into Piedmont and other parts of Italy wherever requisite, to proclaim the truce, with the express command, that should anything have been taken, or in case of any innovation since the conclusion of the truce, it be immediately replaced as it was on the aforesaid day, according to the tenour of the said treaty, as would be done by his most Christian Majesty on his part; so seeing that the King evinced great joy at this, I congratulated him on it in your Serenity's name. He then mounted on horseback immediately to hunt; and the Cardinal of Lorraine having remained behind, chose that we should walk together, and when I alluded to the aforesaid resolution he said to me, "The King wished for the immediate release of these chief prisoners likewise, but it was requisite to comply with the will of the Emperor, who persevered in his harsh mode of proceeding to the last (*ma è stato forcia compiacere all' Imperatore, continuando sino al fine nel suo duro proceder*); but it has been stipulated that the ransom shall be paid in money, without even saying a word about the restitution of any fortress for their release." I then asked him when the Count de Lalain would come hither to effect the ratification; he said it was not settled, the Count not yet

* Jacques d'Albon, Seigneur de St. André. (See Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, Index.)

1556.

having the commission, and the Emperor not having determined on the person to be sent by him as ambassador resident here ; nor would Lalain come save in his company that he might present him to his most Christian Majesty, as the Admiral will do by M. de Bassfontaine, who will reside with the Emperor and King Philip. This termination has manifestly caused very great satisfaction to everybody, in like manner as previously, when there was some doubt of it, no slight disquiet (*molestia*) manifested itself openly.

Amboise, 12th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 14.

Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 63,
p. 213.

424. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last Sunday the Pope did not again appear in chapel because on the preceding night he was on foot until the 9th hour [3 a.m.], so a report arose of his being unwell, which having reached his Holiness, he ate in public, and said he would no longer give audience after sunset to any person soever, and ordered the chamberlains not to dare bring him any message whatever after that time even were it to announce the resurrection of his own father (*se ben portasse nuova della resurectione di suo padre*) ; and this he repeated on the morrow when he held consistory, adding that he is old and must take care of himself, and have regard for his life.

At a private audience Cardinal San Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo], asked leave of the Pope to propose the archbishopric of Toledo for a person in the confidence of the Duke of Florence, but his Holiness got into a violent rage (*s'alterò sopra modo*), and drove him out of his presence (*et se lo cacciò dalla presenza*), to the surprise of the Cardinals who did not know the cause, the circumstance having been narrated to me by one of their right reverend lordships to whom S. Giacomo himself communicated it.

On Wednesday his Holiness called congregation of all the commissioners for the "reform," and made three speeches with his usual eloquence. In the first he addressed himself to the Cardinals alone, in the second to the prelates, and in the third to the whole congregation united. The substance, although his Holiness with marvellous skill each of the three times expressed himself differently, varying his language, was to the effect that to establish this reform as firmly as possible, besides the 10 prelates added to the 24, he had chosen to put in each class including theologians and canonists 27 other officials, in order that every one might suggest and give good counsel for the honour of this Holy See, so that each of the classes will number 50 persons.

His Holiness then said that he would give the "*dubbio*" (*davaria il dubbio*) in writing, but wishing to do so in clear and explicit terms he required a little time for consideration, it being of the greatest importance ; to-day, however, I hear he has issued it in print.

Rome, 14th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.

March 14.

Original
Letter Book,
penes me,Second Letter,
No. 64,
pp. 215-217.425. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday I had audience of the Pope, who said to me, "We are still intent upon the reform and the length of time taken by us, is for the sake of doing the thing well, as it is most important, nor do we choose it to be said that it is a whim of ours (*un nostro ghiribiccio*), and that we acted according to our own fancy without listening to anybody. We choose every one to speak, and the worse they say the better we shall be pleased, as we shall better, once for all, discover the truth. It is not mettlesome discourse (*brio di parole*); Christ is speaking here, not Augustin, Thomas, or others; *gratis accepistis, gratis date*. Magnifico Ambassador, we have had this at heart for many years, as in the house of the Lord we saw many things being done which would terrify you. Any man in want of a bishopric went first of all to the bankers' shops (*in banchi*), where there was the list with the prices; and on a promotion of cardinals, calculation was made of how many tens and hundreds of thousands could be got by it; so immediately God gave us this dignity without our asking it, as His Divine Majesty knows, we said we knew what our Lord wished of us; we must do deeds to purge the head of this malady, and if we did not do so immediately it was because we chose in the first place to make a promotion of cardinals to employ them [in this work] with the certainty of their serving well, although we did not distrust the others. Now we will effect the reform even at the cost of our life; those who say that we shall put too much of our own and not have wherewithal to persevere (*che vi metteremo troppo del nostro, et che non haveremo da sostenere*), do not disturb us, because we are certain that He, who from the void created all things, will not fail us. It is a miracle, Lord Ambassador, how this Holy See has maintained itself, preceding Pontiffs having, one may say, done everything to destroy it, but it is founded on such stones that there is nothing to fear—those two Apostles who are the ornament of heaven, and then the blood of so many martyrs who have been put to death in so many parts of the world, and especially in this city; and even were we not to succeed, we would content ourselves with cleansing this place, consecrated to God, and then die. And to tell you everything, this congregation of ours will have the force of a council, and we have given it '*il dubbio*' in writing (*alla quale habbiamo dato il dubbio in scrittura*), and we have had it put into print, as we do not choose to send it to the universities, it not being dignified for this Holy See, which is *magistra omnium*, to go begging the opinion of others, but we are content that it should circulate under-hand (*sotto mano*), and to hear everyone so that we may be enabled to form a better resolve."

Conversing thus, the Pope approached his writing table, and took two copies of this "*dubbio*," which he gave me, saying, "You will send one to the most illustrious Signory, the other you will keep for yourself." He then stopped like a person who wished to say something, but feared to do so (*come persona che colesse dire una*

1556.

cosa, ma temesse), and after a pause continued, "We will not withhold from you (*non vi vogliamo defraudare*) that which is known to ourselves, being very certain that you will write in such a form, and that those most illustrious Lords will in like manner keep what we communicate to them in such wise, as never to give us cause for regret. We hear through a sure channel, for we do not easily believe every one, and choose to ascertain matters thoroughly, that King Philip of England—as the Emperor is no longer mentioned, because as you must know he does not exist, so one may say, Philip late Charles (*si può dir Filippo quondam Carlo*)—charged those who negotiated this truce by no means to make mention of 'council,' as they well knew what would happen to them; and this their fear of us proceeds we are aware from the powerful hand of God, for we do not deceive ourselves about our temporal forces. Well do we know that the Almighty giveth and taketh away courage as he listeth. This we have said to you as an introduction to what follows, namely, that our reform will draw many things after it should God grant us the grace to cleanse ourselves (*ci dà gracia che possiamo netarci*), and that there be not said of us, *Read thine own book, and Medice, cura te ipsum*; we shall perhaps show the Princes that in their courts there is more simony than in this one, and we purpose getting rid of it because we are placed in authority over them as over priests, all being our children; and when needed we will convoke a council in this famous city, as there is no need to go elsewhere, and we, as is notorious, would never give our vote for the council to be held at Trent in the midst, it may be said, of the Lutherans. Although the decision has to be made by the bishops, one may indeed admit learned laymen provided they be Catholics, as otherwise we might be told to include even Sultan Soliman. Thus, Magnifico Ambassador, have we chosen to unbosom ourselves to you completely, as lovingly as we do to Cardinal Caraffa; and we will also tell you that with regard to the truce, we do not as yet know that the articles have been signed. To us, indeed, so far as can be conjectured, it does not seem that it can stand thus, being so very disadvantageous for the King of England, or else it must be inferred that he is in some very urgent need, about which all we know is that neither in Piedmont nor in Tuscany is there a cessation of hostilities, nay, they are doing worse than ever. We do not know what truce this may be. God grant that we may have a good and true peace! In the meanwhile we shall remain armed that they may not be able to deceive us, and were we to ask counsel of your Signory we believe they would advise us to keep prepared. To no one will we give occasion, but should others give it to us we will not fail doing like honest men.* They, perhaps, are more afraid than we are, and we know that already a good many days ago, when in consultation, some of their military commanders said 'Let us go to Rome, there to do deeds and make ourselves heard,' but by those who *altius ridebantur sapere*, they were answered, 'Go to Rome!! to do what? See you not that he is armed and has a

* Non mancheremo di farla da huomini da bene.

1556.

city which adores him? that every one would fight for his Holiness? and then, when should we return?' as they know we should wage fiercer war on them in the kingdom of Naples than here. So that, Magnifico Ambassador, apologize for us to the Signory, and tell them to pardon us if we remain armed as we do, for the maintenance of these afflicted relics of Italy,* for it may be said that nothing remains of her but this mitre and that ducal bonnet;† be this Holy See recommended to the State in like manner as we are ready to do everything for its conservation and increase."

Perceiving that I had been well nigh two hours with his Holiness, after thanking him for so confidential a communication, which I said would not be divulged beyond the walls of the senate hall, I then took leave.

Most Serene Prince, although aware that the Pope has very often said to me the things above mentioned, and that I wrote them to the Signory, it seeming to me nevertheless that it is the duty of an ambassador to transmit all that he hears orally from the lips of the Prince to whom he is accredited, I therefore endeavour to notify to your Serenity not merely the conceits of his Holiness, but his identical words.

Rome, 14th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

426. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Three days ago, in the court of the King of Spain, on the market place of this town (*nella piazza di questa terra*), and at Antwerp, the truce was proclaimed to the trumpet's sound, in the Spanish, Flemish, and French tongues; after which the bells were rung as a mark of rejoicing, and letters have been despatched to his Majesty's chief ministers with news of this event.

These gentlemen of these two courts have determined to make a joust here after the Easter holidays, and it is said that the King in person will joust, the challengers being Don Ruy Gomez, Don Luis de Caravajal, and Don Rodrigo di Benavides, they maintaining that the women of Brussels are handsomer than those of Mechlin, where Count Schwartzburg is preparing a tournament for his sweethearts (*per suoi innamoramenti*).

Visited the Bishop of Arras, informing him that I was charged to do the like with the Emperor, but that having heard he was in bed with the gout, I would not ask audience. He told me that the proclamation of the truce had been delayed because their Majesties did not choose to make it until the French confirmed what the commissioners concluded at Cambrai, as it is necessary to proceed very cautiously with them, but that in the meanwhile the ransom of the prisoners had been discussed, and the Admiral of France is

* Queste afflitt reliquie d'Italia.

† Quella beretta.

‡ Gaspar de Coligny, Seigneur de Chastillon. (*See Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, Index.*)

1556.

expected here from day to day; also that their Majesties in the articles had borne your Serenity in mind, as due, and that you had also been named on the part of the French. We had a long conversation about the many and toilsome labours performed by his right reverend Lordship in the service of the Emperor. He says he is now weary of further work, and tells everybody that he purposes retiring to his bishopric, though this is supposed to proceed from his perceiving it to be the King's intention that everybody is to go and transact business with Don Ray Gomez, whose apartment is thronged from morning till night by negotiators of all sorts.

On his return from Antwerp I also visited the Duke of Savoy, who, after the usual compliments, abounding in extreme respect and demonstrations of love for your Serenity, repeated his determination to keep an ambassador with you.

On the 13th instant the King of Spain made his demand for money from the deputies of these provinces, who according to custom have taken the term of one month to go and report to the towns and to their lords. The demand purported that his Majesty, having incurred debts for the defence of these provinces to the amount of a million and a half of crowns, and having also need of other moneys for matters of extreme necessity, he requested them to give him one per cent. on the value of immoveable property, and two per cent. on moveable, promising not to make any further demand for the next two years. The deputies all evinced greater displeasure at the mode whereby it was proposed to raise this sum, it being chosen thus to ascertain what they are worth, than from having to pay it.

His Majesty has ordered the Count of Meghen to raise six regiments of Flemish infantry, that he may march them to the frontiers of Luxemburg in lieu of the troops from upper Germany (*in luogo degli Alemanni alti*) now there, the cost being less, and the Flemings thus obtaining pay and employment, as desired by them.

Colonel Aldanna has been consulted several times about remedying the defects known to exist in the Spanish infantry with regard to their weapons and discipline.

The King has received letters from the Cardinal of Toledo, wishing to spend his archiepiscopal revenues for the conservation of Oran and the recovery of Bugia, and requesting his Majesty to write to the communities of Spain to receive in pledge all the revenues of his right reverend Lordship, and to lend him 300,000 crowns, to be repaid within six years, the King to bind himself to them by contract that the archbishop's successor will acquit the debt with the revenues aforesaid, or his Majesty to repay the money with that which he is accustomed to receive from the Cortes of Monçon; and the Spaniards say it is intended to spend a million of gold on this expedition, and that in his granaries the Cardinal has the wheat of several harvests to the value of 50,000 crowns.

Brussels, 14th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.

March 15.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

427. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday Sir John Masone, councillor of the Queen of England, owing to a fresh order from her Majesty, went to pray the King her consort to be pleased to say frankly in how many days he purposed returning to that kingdom, as besides her other reasons she wished to know it for the purpose of continuing or not to incur the cost of the ships already prepared for his passage. Masone, moreover, as of his own accord, warmly persuaded him to comfort the Queen, as also the peers of the realm, by his presence, saying that there was no reason yet to despair of his having heirs.* The King, after the general replies, and answering lovingly with regard to details about the Queen and all the inhabitants of England, said that the causes for detaining him here kept multiplying in such wise that it was impossible to say anything certain about the time of his departure, and that it would be well to get rid of the cost of the aforesaid ships; repeating, however, his intention, as soon as he could despatch all his affairs, of going, that he might gratify his consort. So the said councillor [Masone], having been unable to elicit an especial promise indicating the time, went immediately to Don Ruy Gomez to hear his opinion on this subject, and having received for answer "that he thought speedily" (*che credeva presto*), Sir John Masone rejoined that the non-performance of these promises at any time was so evident that he would write to the Queen to dismiss this thought from her mind for many months; whereupon Don Ruy Gomez added that his opinion was that she would have the King with her next June, and that Masone might notify this to her Majesty. Don Juan Manrique, a member of King Philip's council of state, and other honourable Spanish gentlemen, say *that the King has no cause to gratify the Queen in this respect, nor yet in any other, as she has in fact shown but little conjugal affection for him, and that but little can be hoped from her; coming to the following particulars, that not only had the King to pay his own expenses, but also those of a great number of Englishmen, spending so vast a sum of money, and being subjected to so many vexations in that kingdom on account of the Queen, that, were he not bound by this marriage, the imperial and royal courtiers say generally, were there no other cause, he ought to be deterred from going thither by the prognostic of his astrologer, to the effect that in this year the English will form a conspiracy against him; in addition to which, in the month of July (sic), the period assigned by Ruy Gomez for his being in England, he should for his own profit, and also from necessity, visit and inspect all these provinces, which could not be done in less than two months.*

Brussels, 15th March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* In the Foreign Calendar (Mary), p. 216, there is a letter from Masone to the Queen, date Brussels, 14th March 1556, but it does not allude to the particulars recorded in this despatch by Badoer.

1556.

March 16.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

428. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At the conference mentioned in my last between the Admiral and the Count de Lalain, they exchanged the ratifications of the truce made by their princes, without altering the agreement in any way; and the one made by the Emperor and the King of England was sent hither to his most Christian Majesty by the said Admiral, the Imperial couriers who arrived here on their way to proclaim the truce in Italy having departed with other couriers despatched by the King of France for the same purpose. Subsequently other couriers arrived on their way to do the like in Spain, and have already gone on.

Last night news arrived of the rout given by the French to the Imperialists under San Lorenzo, some commanders and artillery having been captured, which gave satisfaction, it seeming here that after the conclusion of the truce the Imperialists should by no means have continued hostilities, although it had not been ratified; and here it is said that if after the proclamation by the couriers they desist, the French will do the like, and give back the guns and prisoners and everything else taken since the conclusion, provided the Imperialists act similarly.

The King will depart hence to-morrow for Tours, to remain there three or four days, and will then return hither to pass the rest of Lent and the Easter holidays.

Amboise, 16th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 17.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

429. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Has no occasion, with this opportunity for sending the duplicate of his last letter dated 10th instant,* to add anything, nothing having occurred worthy of the Signory's notice, the Queen being for many days without notices from beyond sea. Her Majesty still awaits anxiously the return of her courier Francesco, it being supposed that the King detains him so long a while that he may bring back the positive resolve about his Majesty's coming.

Notwithstanding the Queen's regret that Cardinal Pole should be away from her, he has, however, obtained leave, though with difficulty, to go for a few days to take possession of his archbishopric of Canterbury, making his solemn entry on Lady-day the 25th instant, and on the following Palm Sunday he will sing his first mass, and preach in public, to commence the full exercise of his office. By reason of the great reverence and respect which all the chief personages of the kingdom bear his right reverend Lordship, it was their wish to accompany him on his entry, had he not prevented it for the avoidance of cost and inconvenience both to himself and to them; nor will he admit (*admittere*) any but the nobility and gentry of Kent who are within his diocese, and some of the chief personages here of the court, whom he cannot refuse,

* This letter of the 10th has not been found.

1556.

and even they will be too many. On this occasion the Queen presented him with episcopal robes and ornaments (*paramenti et ornamenti episcopali*) estimated at 10,000 ducats, the Cardinal has also increased his household by 180 mouths and upwards, including gentlemen and servants.

For many consecutive days a comet has been visible, as it still is, and with this opportunity a gang of rogues, some twelve in number, who have been arrested, went about the city saying we should soon see the day of judgment, when everything would be burned and consumed. These knaves, with a number of others, availing themselves of this device, agreed to set fire to several parts of the city, to facilitate their project of murder and robbery, and if this be true, due punishment will be inflicted on them.

London, 17th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 18.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

430. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Lodgings for 300 persons have been prepared for the Admiral of France.

The Landgrave of Hesse has disbanded all his troops with the exception of four infantry regiments, his suspicion of an attack from the Prince of Orange having now ceased entirely.

The Duke of Ferrara has staid the recall of his ambassador now resident here with the Emperor and the King, either from repentance, after hearing of the conclusion of the truce, or because he made this stir in aid of France during its negotiation, or perhaps from finding himself deceived in the treaties on foot between himself, the Duke of Parma, and the most Christian King.

Consultations have been held lately about entrusting the African expedition to the Cardinal of Toledo and the other lords of Spain, or that the King should send thither troops from his other States, paid at his own cost. Nothing has as yet been settled, nor has his Majesty answered the Cardinal. The Finance Committee is discussing the means whereby to free the King from the heavy interest he is now paying, and amongst various schemes two were debated at great length yesterday; one that, as the new successor to these Provinces, his Majesty should take himself all offices of profit, and receive a good sum of money on confirming the old ministers, or appointing new ones in their stead; the other, that he should establish wardship, reserving all the property of minors until their majority, giving them seven per cent. interest per annum and security on some of these towns, thus saving five per cent. out of the twelve which he is now paying to the merchants.

The Emperor is still in bed with the gout.

Brussels, 18th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* In Machyn's Diary (p. 101, Camden Society Publication), "*the blassyng [star]*" is said to have made its first appearance on the 7th March. Stowe, in his *Summarie*, says it continued for twelve days, having commenced on the 4th March. The Venetian Ambassador now shows that it was still visible on the 17th March.

1556.

March 19.

Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 65,
pp. 218, 219.

431. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day had audience of the Pope, who in reply to your Serenity's advices from Constantinople, said, "It is evident that the armadas of Sultan Soliman are always fitted out for our detriment; as against the Sophy, he has merely need of a few galleys to guard his territory when proceeding in that direction. May God assist us! Would that we could witness a good peace between these princes, and thus have we always said to their ambassadors—we say a *good* peace, and not merely a peace, as was said also by Christ, *pacem meam*; that is, I give it you good, tranquil, and real; adding, should anyone not have understood, '*non quomodo mundus dat.*' This truce is making great progress; the King of England has written to the Marquis [of Sarria, Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro; not Sir Edward Carne] his ambassador here, to tell us that he was content to sign it, thinking to do us pleasure, as he knew that we had urged him thus to do, through our legate, Cardinal Pole, by means of the ambassador here [Sir Edward Carne], whom we charged to write to him in our name, and by our nephew the Signor Ferante di Sanguini, who went lately to that court; his Majesty ending his letter very respectfully with regard to us. Then to-day you saw here the French ambassador and the Prothonotary de Noailles, who has brought us a letter, written throughout in the King's own hand, telling us the same; which letters of either sovereign we have given to our right reverend secretary, that he may answer them becomingly, and we will show them to you should the secretary not have gone away;" and then having had him called, and as he was not in the antechamber, the Pope continued, "As he is not here, you will content yourself with what we have told you, which is their substance."

He said, moreover, "The satisfaction derivable from this truce consists in this, that ardour of theirs has abated, it having hitherto prevented them from listening to anybody or to any good suggestions. There being now a cessation of hostilities, some attempt might be made to bring them to a good peace, which may God of his mercy grant, as without the hope of peace this truce cannot prove to our satisfaction, as the conditions it contains forbid its duration; and lest there be some secret understanding it is our duty to keep well on the watch, to guard against their deceiving us. We remember the disastrous results of the League of Cambrai. We pray you, Magnifico Ambassador, not to be scandalized and think us garrulous (*che habbiamo il prurito nella lingua*), for we know how to be silent when we choose. This opening of our heart, and committal of it to your trusty ears, and to those of the Signory, proceed from the very great love we bear the most Serene Republic, so that it would seem to us greatly to wrong you also, were we to suppress anything we have on our mind; write therefore to those sage signors that if ever there was a time to preserve friendships and form new ones, and to have a good mutual understanding, it is the present one, for this is the way to preserve one's own and augment it, and to inspire terror to such as entertain mischievous

1556.

projects; for the sovereigns note everything, however trifling it may be, and of a straw they make a beam (*e d'una festuca fanno una trave*), which we discovered lately in these negotiations of ours, when they laid great stress on matters of little importance; so you may now judge what important feats they will perform, and whether, whilst thinking of their own safety, they will meditate an attack on their neighbours."

The Pope also said, "It seems a great sign of the goodness of God on earth, that when any one, however iniquitous he may be, is about to perpetrate a crime, he cannot rid his heart of that fear and torment called remorse (*sindéresi*), which was felt by these Imperialists when they came to our frontiers from the kingdom of Naples and Tuscany, and confessed to everybody that they came from fear (*che venivano per paura*); so we answered them, There is something more than fear, what are you afraid of? that we with four or six thousand infantry intend to wrest from you the kingdom of Naples? They put us to great expense, for long since we have had a considerable force under arms; but to return to what we were telling you, God knows with how much love and charity we say and assure you that we choose the enemy who attacks your Signory to know that he will have to attack us also; and we choose to have the same care for our sons and feudatories, the Dukes of Ferrara and Urbino, and the Swiss cantons, and we pray the most illustrious Signory to hold them dear, both because they deserve it, as also for the welfare of your Republic. The Duke of Ferrara is a Venetian nobleman much attached to the State; his late father was in the habit of going to Venice for recreation; the Duke of Urbino is your son and servant, for the sake of his father and for his own sake. You are aware that we told you heretofore, and we believe you wrote to the State accordingly, that we gave him leave to enter your service; but even had they not been such we should have chosen them to become so, and to serve the Signory like ourselves in person. The Switzers are attached to you; they are the bulwark (*antemural*) against Germany, and armed, so that you can make use of them instantly. Write to the Signory to caress and treat them hospitably, allowing them to trade in the Venetian territory, so as to bind them yet more to you. Should the Republic be of this opinion, we promise not to fail you; but if, on the contrary, the State thinks differently, let them make themselves heard, as we will listen to you quietly, though we should indeed wish those most potent Signors to ponder with their usual prudence, that the sole way to eradicate the evil designs of the barbarians is to form a good alliance amongst friends. We will not fail to gratify these Switzers as much as we can, in order that they may remain staunch to us, and that the other cantons which have seceded may return, as we choose to hope may come to pass; and here we will tell you a thing which we have never communicated to any one, namely, that to make more sure of this nation, had we found in it any individual—I will not say of most consummate learning, but of moderate literary acquirements, and a man of worth and universally popular amongst the Switzers—thinking thus.

1556.

through such a person, to gratify all the cantons—we would have made him cardinal, but we have not found him, the nation (as notorious) seeking its glory in the field; but we obliged the other nations, German, Spanish, and French, though not on the demand of any one, as we choose the Princes to be convinced that at their suit we will not name even one. We promoted Groppero by reason of his repute for goodness and learning; the Archbishop of Toledo, because he leads an exemplary life, is a great prelate, and with regard to the interests of this Holy See, has opposed even the Emperor himself; Reumano, '*Auditor di Rota*,' because he has always given good account of himself, and by reason of the integrity of his awards (*et della sua innocenza in giudicare*); as also in order not to elect any great personages whose election might have caused a suspicion of our naming them at the suit of the King or others. Where was the abuse in this (*che abuso era questo*)? Of our predecessors the Emperor demanded at least eight Cardinals, and we said to them, let *Him* ask, and do you make the Cardinals, at the suit of *Christ*. Magnifico Ambassador! it was impossible for us more clearly to demonstrate the love we bear the Republic, and our care for it, than by unbosoming all our thoughts to the Signory, and reminding them of what is to their advantage and honour, and we choose to have it in our power to say that thus have we done. As soon as we are sure of this truce, and when it is confirmed to us, we shall relieve ourselves from expenditure, but not entirely, as it is our intention to keep provided; we shall disband the multitude (*la moltitudine*) and retain the men of worth (*gl' huomeni da bene*), who are in great number, as they come more willingly to serve us for small stipend, than they go with considerable pay to fight for ultramontane Princes whom they profess to serve under compulsion, and for the sake of emolument—God knows how far this may be true—and we from good companionship share what we have with them. In truth, Lord Ambassador, we receive endless letters from personages of importance who wish to come and serve us, and those we engage will always be yours, as whatever we have we choose to hold in common with your most illustrious lords."

In reply I told his Holiness that I would write what he had said to me to your Serenity, as I always had done, and according to my duty. He rejoined, "Write it to them, as we would moreover fain have it in our power to utter and affirm it to them with our own lips, as it proceeds from nothing but what is aforesaid, namely, our thought for the preservation of Italy, since it has pleased God to give us this charge;" and thus, having been a very long time with him, I took my leave.

Rome, 19th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 21.

Original
Letter Book,
penes me.
Letter No. 66.

432. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The letters from the Imperial court, to which I alluded in my last, were dated the 22nd and 29th ultimo, from the Nuncio; and those from private individuals, and from the King of England to his

1556.

Ambassador here [Sir Edward Carne; or Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro, Marquis of Sarria; or Don Juan Garcilasso de la Vega] were of the 2nd instant. In the morning the Count of Montorio sent his secretary to show me their contents, as your Serenity will perceive by the enclosed copy, and although the letters are stale, it is nevertheless not amiss to see what was then said at that court about Italian affairs, and the opinions formed there about them. The letters from the King of England contained what I wrote in the accompanying despatch, as told me by the Pope; and this same packet also brought a distribution of pensions to sundry gentlemen and others at this court, which pensions, being upon bishoprics, have to pass consistory; it is not known what the Pope will do, but as some months ago those of the most Christian King were made valid, his Holiness will do the like by these.

The Cardinal of Augsburg has been unable for many months to obtain audience of the Pope, because he gave it to be understood that he intends asking for money to pay certain creditors of his, and leave to repair to his principality, which he said was in great danger, as the Lutherans have so increased in his dioceses that, unless he go thither in person, something scandalous may occur.

To-day, having sent my secretary to the palace, as usual, to hear whether there was any news, Cardinal Caraffa called him, and exhibited a paragraph from a letter written by the Bishop of Arras to the Signor Giovanni Battista Gastaldo, containing the following precise words, "The truce has been made, as your Lordship will have heard; I took no share in it (*io non ci sonno intervenuto*), as had I been present it would not have taken place; or, if ratified, the terms would have been more honourable; but being such as they are, it will prove of short duration;" after reading which words, the Cardinal inquired whether I had anything to this effect. The secretary answered him in the negative, adding that had the intelligence reached me, I should have communicated it either to the Pope, or to his right reverend Lordship.

Rome, 21st March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 22.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

433. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiral of France arrived at Cambrai with upwards of a thousand horse, and having understood that lodgings had been prepared for him at Brussels for only three hundred persons, and as on this occasion he was compelled to take with him a much greater number, he requested accommodation for a more numerous retinue. M. de Lalain wrote therefore to the King of Spain, who replied that there being resident here the courts of the Emperor and his own, as also of the Queens [dowagers] of Hungary and France, and of so many other lords, the lodgings are so occupied that the purveyors did their utmost by finding the place already assigned him for three hundred horse; so he was to tell his Lordship as of himself to take patience, as he, M. de Lalain, would also go with fewer persons to the King of France.

1556.

The Emperor and the King have been written to *from Rome* that the Pope by divers signs has evinced extreme regret for the most Christian King's consent to the conclusion of the truce, and that when the French Ambassador, speaking to the Pope on this subject, and demonstrating the cogent reasons which had induced him so to do, presented him with a letter from the King, his Holiness eyed him askance (lo guardò con torto occhio), using language showing his dissatisfaction; concerning which fact the chief ministers of the Emperor and the King express themselves beyond measure violently against the Pope.

Don Ruy Gomez, in reply to the Ferrarese ambassador about a request concerning the nomination to the vacant archbishopric of Milan, said that at the present time there was reason to perform offices the reverse of good with regard to the Duke of Ferrara, instead of favouring his kinsfolk or dependants, as the Emperor and King Philip had received notice that during the negotiation of the truce his Excellency had done many things to their disservice, and that they even knew the following particular, that the Pope had said with his own lips that during those emergencies the Duke of Ferrara had offered him both money and troops, and his own personal services, for no other end than to do what was agreeable to the most Christian King. Don Ruy Gomez also alluded to the clandestine departure of the Ferrarese secretary, and to his language, saying that these proceedings impugned the Duke's character for prudence, his forces not being such as to allow him, of himself, without leaguings with others, to form a resolve (to use his own words) "like a Signory of Venice" (*come una Signoria di Venezia*). The ambassador after apologizing for the Duke by saying that regard should be had for deeds rather than for words, and having endeavoured to soothe Don Ruy Gomez, inquired whether perchance his Lordship wished him to write this to the Duke, and being answered in the affirmative he said he would do so.

Some of the deputies of these provinces have implied that they will give his Majesty as much as a million of gold, in order that he may not carry into effect the intention already announced by him of levying one per cent. on immoveables, and two per cent. on moveables; and his Majesty has said that he does not purpose altering his proposal, as he knows that this sum of money would be taken from the poor, and that the rich would not pay in proportion to their wealth.

Brussels, 22nd March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

434. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The suspicion about the conspirators (*coloro*) who purposed setting fire to several quarters of the city for the sake of plunder, had a different root and origin to what was reported, a plot having been lately discovered of such a nature that, had it been carried

1556.

into effect as arranged, it would doubtless, as generally believed, considering the ill-will of the majority of the population here on account of the religion, besides their innate love of frequent change and innovation, have placed the Queen and the whole kingdom in great trouble, as it was of greater circuit and extent than had been at first supposed.

The plot was, that a number of gentlemen here (*molti di questi nobili*), together with some officials and subordinates (*ministri*) of the court, agreed to rob all the public money as by an understanding with the officials of the Exchequer, whither all sums levied both in London and in the country are taken and preserved there, and in which place, on account of the subsidy lately levied, they expected to find a considerable amount. To facilitate this scheme, as already mentioned, they had arranged to set fire to several parts of the city and of the court itself, so that the greater part of the population being occupied with the fire, they in the midst of that turmoil and confusion might more conveniently do their own business, and after its accomplishment make their escape more securely and save themselves, for which purpose they had already prepared two of the Queen's ships, very well armed and provisioned, and which are here called pinnaces (*spinazze*),* and are good for any service either by oar or sail, they having been kept during several days near at hand here in the river, their commander, who was in league with the conspirators, giving out that he was bound for Ireland on the Queen's service, to quell the insurrections there, and to protect some of the inhabitants of that island, who were so hindered that even the fishermen could not put to sea to gain their livelihood; but according to current report here hitherto, his intention was to escape with the money and the conspirators to the Isle of Wight, in front of the harbour and town of Hampton, having moreover an understanding with the captain of the island,† to fortify themselves there, and by means of the money raise troops and an army with which to effect a national rebellion, having perhaps yet more important negotiations and designs which are as yet undiscovered.

It, however, did not seem fit to the goodness of God, to whom alone the preservation of the Queen and the protection of the realm is manifestly committed, that such wicked projects should be realized, as by good fortune some 20 days ago a person, either from hope of reward, or to exculpate himself (which yet remains a secret), revealed the plot to Cardinal Pole.‡ The Lords of the Council, proceeding with good method, secured themselves in the first place as silently as possible against the threatened danger and robbery, by privily removing the money from the Exchequer, and by dissembling, giving the conspirators opportunities to pursue their project unmolested,

* In the "Verney" Papers, p. 65, the vessel destined for the removal of the treasure is called a "crayer."

† Richard Uvedale, captain of the Queen's castle of Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight. (See Verney Papers, p. 61.)

‡ The person who revealed the plot to Cardinal Pole was apparently Thomas White. (See Verney Papers, p. 65.)

1556.

and then, when the matter seemed ripe, the government showed itself, having it may be said seized three or four of the ringleaders in the act; and although others are discovered daily and the arrests will continue, yet am I told that had the ministry delayed the demonstration for two or three days they would have captured the whole gang. As yet upwards of 40 persons have been imprisoned on this account, and arrests take place daily, all hope and opportunity for flight being removed by a very rigorous order, issued on Wednesday the 18th (the day of the first arrests), forbidding embarkation at all the passage ports from that time forth, all the vessels being in like manner placed under embargo.

Amongst the prisoners are the commander of the two ships (*il capitano delli dui navilij*), one Master Cardin (*sic*),* official of the Queen's wardrobe, and some other gentlemen (*nobili*) and officials of the Court, persons who, although not of much consequence, are, nevertheless, some of them, supposed to have an annual rental of from two to three thousand crowns, besides some of these Londoners, and certain searchers and custom-house officials on duty at Gravesend and Dover, through which places the conspirators were to pass; an individual who resided here as agent for Lord Courtenay having also been imprisoned,† and they have sent for the captain of the Isle of Wight to come hither. The Lords of the Council confess, as told me by the Chancellor [Nicholas Heath], and the Treasurer [William Paulett, Marquis of Winchester],‡ that they were and are much alarmed, owing to the great danger which they know they have incurred, and from fear lest yet more important facts may transpire. I will not fail to acquaint your Serenity from time to time with whatever occurs, although as the passage-ports still remain closed and inaccessible, it is difficult to send letters or messengers across the Channel, the couriers of last week having been detained, and the present despatch likewise may perhaps share the same fate.

This casualty, in addition to the regret which Cardinal Pole's absence would have caused the Queen, induced her Majesty absolutely to forbid his going to his archbishopric, and she made him defer the singing of his mass until after Easter, and perhaps until after the return of the King, his Majesty having written by the courier Francesco Piamontese, who has returned, that he also hoped to be able to be present at it, again promising the Queen that as soon as the proposals made to the states of Flanders, which alone hinder him, are despatched, he will set out, evincing a great wish and desire to come back, as written by him in a letter to Cardinal Pole, which I read, and wherein he apologizes for having so long delayed announcing here and elsewhere the conclusion of the truce, because he wished first of all to witness its ratification.

The Legate nevertheless, did, not fail to have himself consecrated archbishop, as he had determined, the ceremony being performed last Sunday publicly, with great state, in the presence of the Queen

* Query John Calton. (See Verney Papers, p. 61.)

† John Walker. (See Domestic Calendar, p. 80.)

‡ Li Signori Cancellieri (*sic*) et Thesoriery (*sic*).

1556.

and the whole Court;* and to-morrow, the Feast of the Annunciation, he is to come to London to take the "*pallium*" sent him by our Lord [the Pope], in a church dependent on his diocese, and to commence preaching and making himself heard therein.

On Saturday last, the 21st, Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, was burned, having fully verified the opinion formed of him by the Queen, that he had feigned recantation (*che si havesse fatto mostra di disdirsi*), thinking thus to save his life, and not that he had received any good inspiration (*et non per buon spirito che le fusse venuto*), so she considered him unworthy of pardon; and thus, immediately on hearing that there was no remedy, and that he must die, relapsing into his usual heresies, he retracted in public all that he had uttered and signed with his own hand. At the moment when he was taken to the stake, he drew from his bosom the identical writing, throwing it, in the presence of the multitude, with his own hands into the flames, asking pardon of God and of the people for having consented (*consentito*) to such an act, which he excused by saying that he did it for the public benefit, as had his life, which he sought to save, been spared him, he might at some [future] time have still been of use to them, praying them all to persist (*a persistere*) in the doctrine believed by him, and absolutely denying the sacrament and the supremacy of the Church. And finally, stretching forth his arm and right hand, he said, "This, which has sinned, having signed the writing, must be the first to suffer punishment;" and thus did he place it in the fire, and burned it himself. An English translation of this writing was published in London, and as it was signed by Father Soto and his associate,† both Spaniards, resident at Oxford on account of the university, where Father Soto is public lecturer in holy writ, and had long laboured to convert Cranmer, the Londoners not only had suspicion of the document, but openly pronounced it a forgery; so the Lords of the Council were obliged to suppress it and to issue another, witnessed by Englishmen. This circumstance, coupled with the execution, will cause greater commotion (*scandalo*), as demonstrated daily by the way in which the preachers are treated, and by the contemptuous demonstrations (*li dispreggi*) made in the churches.

London, 24th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

435. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In reply to two letters from your Serenity, the one desiring me to congratulate the King and the Emperor on the conclusion of the truce, the other charging me to acquaint King Philip with the seizure of the ships by the Viceroy of Sicily, complaining seriously, and requesting his Majesty to send a positive order for their release;

* The ceremony took place in the Grey Friars church at Greenwich. (See Machyn's Diary, p. 102.)

† The fellow lecturer at Oxford of Father Soto was Friar Garcina. (See Lingard, vol. 5, p. 236, ed. London, 1854.)

1556.

the King desired me to give him a memorial, promising to have it speedily despatched by his council. As his Majesty expressed himself kindly and with cheerfulness, I said I knew his ministers could not do otherwise than was required by me, but that I wished him to tell them to do so quickly, and on taking leave I presented the memorial, knowing it to be his custom to ask for similar documents. On quitting his Majesty, I narrated to Don Ruy Gomez the circumstances in detail, urging him to favour this just demand, but perceiving that the courtesy used by him towards me did not seem such as was desired by me with regard to this business, I inferred that the Viceroy's agent at this court had given him some sinister account of the capture of the galliot; and having told him how it took place, he replied that my reasons were so strong that he could not but suppose that Don Juan de Vega had acted ill in this matter, promising both in the council and with the King to perform every good office, and the more willingly, knowing that I, at the time when the league was being treated in Italy, not only assured those with whom I conversed that your Serenity would not meddle with it, but my language utterly removed any suspicion of the sort, and that as you were of the same mind as his King, he would some day discuss several matters with me at full length, in order to keep up this constant good friendship between his Majesty and your Serenity, saying that one of these Easter holidays he would come and dine, and pass the whole day at my lodging in conversation.

Brussels, 24th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 25.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

436. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 19th the Admiral left Peronne for Brussels, accompanied by 500 horse, the Count de Lalain having crossed into France, being lodged on the way in the Constable's mansions (*luoghi*) and received honourably, and he was to arrive in Paris yesterday with a retinue of 300 horse. He will remain there for two or three days, and then proceed to Blois, where he will remain until Easter day, after which he will come hither to meet his most Christian Majesty, when the ratification of the peace will be effected, which act it is supposed will have been performed some days previously by the Emperor and King Philip, unless delayed by the Emperor's indisposition or some other accident, as the journey from Peronne to Brussels is much shorter than to Amboise from Cambrai, from which place M. de Lalain took his departure. Persons who profess to understand these forms say they are superfluous and not usually observed, save in a treaty of peace; so in this matter the Admiral is reproached with having gratified the Imperialists, as they are said to have proclaimed that the term of six weeks was reserved solely for the Emperor and King Philip, and not for his most Christian Majesty, although this is contrary to the truth. M. de St. Julien has arrived from Rome, and gives account of the many public demonstrations made by the Pope in proof of the satisfaction felt by him for the conclusion of this truce; but it is understood that in

1556.

secret he, together with all his dependants, remains, much disquieted ; and here, in like manner, everybody is surprised that as yet his Holiness should not have had any office of congratulation performed in his name with his most Christian Majesty.

The King returned hither yesterday from Tours, nor could I follow him, from violent fever.

Amboise, 25th March 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 28.

Original
Letter Book,
penes me.
Letter No. 67,
pp. 220, 222.

437. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Marshal Strozzi has returned from Tuscany, whither he is said to have gone for the purpose of giving the French agents there advice respecting the mode of government to be observed by them during the present truce, and the amount of soldiery to remain as garrison of the fortresses held by them. He went publicly to see the Pope eat, on which occasion, as he frequently does, the Pope exhorted all men to pray for universal peace, owing to the ratification of the truce, and to forgive their enemies. He moreover first of all explained the allegory of the "rose," which he had blessed according to the ancient rite, saying that it signified the flowers which preceded the fruits of our Lord's passion ; wherefore it was hallowed the week before that passion. His Holiness has not yet given this rose to any personage.

A few mornings ago the Imperial Ambassador [Marquis de Sarria], on his way out hunting, having to pass the gate of Saint Agnese, the soldiers closed it, and levelled theirarquebuses at him ; but having taken patience on former occasions, and having been told in reply to his complaints that he might go, and would be allowed egress, his attendants therefore disarmed the guard, and opened the gate, through which he passed ; which being reported to the Count of Montorio, his Excellency remained somewhat pensive in suspense (*alquanto pensosa sopra di se*) ; and then replied that the ambassador had done well and that the guard had acted indiscreetly.*

On Monday consistory sat, at which they gave the *pallium* to the right reverend Patriarch of Venice, and after disposing of three churches, one in France, one in Spain, and one in Portugal, they conferred the archimandicate (*l'archimandichato*) on the Cardinal of Messina, with the pension of 1,000 crowns to Cardinal San Clemente ; so it is supposed that having made this beginning, there will be no further difficulty about allowing the pensions which come from the Emperor's court to pass. On Thursday in the house of the Decano (Cardinal Bellai ?) the first-class members of the congregation for the "*Reform*" assembled, and the result was that 12 gave their votes on the point sent by me to your Serenity, and there were three opinions—one of the Bishop of Feltre that money might be taken for the use of the spiritual power ; the second of the Bishop

* See Foreign Calendar, 8th April 1556, p. 221.

1556.

of Sessa, that by no means could it be exacted; the third of the Bishop of Senegaglia, that it may be taken, but not at stated periods, nor with fixed conditions. They will meet again after the holidays, and the remaining members will give their votes, either by word of mouth or in writing, and the two other classes will do the like; about which the Pope will use diligence, as he is desirous of seeing the end of the business.

Rome, 28th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 28.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

438. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiral of France arrived here on the 25th instant. He was accompanied by the French ambassador in ordinary, who is to reside here at the courts of the Emperor and the King, and by many honourable French noblemen and some Italians, including the sons of the late Cesare Fregoso, and of Count Caiazo, numbering in all some 300 persons. The chief personages of these courts went to meet them outside the town, and the Prince of Orange and the Count de Feria performed the offices of ceremony in the name of their Majesties, and accompanied them to their lodgings. On the morrow King Philip sent the Prince of Orange to bring the Admiral to audience of his Majesty, who received him in public, and with a gladsome countenance moved a few paces to meet him, doffing his bonnet, and not allowing him to kiss his hand as the Admiral humbly showed a wish to do. After reading the letters of credence, the King listened to him for a long while, and in reply reciprocated his loving expressions, nor did any of the bystanders hear a single word; and after taking leave of his Majesty, he embraced the Duke of Savoy, and made the Constable's son first of all kiss the King's hand, the like being afterwards done by some of the other chief personages; and on his departure likewise the King went a few paces with him.

On the same day and yesterday the Admiral was visited by the ambassadors and other chief personages of these courts. I also did the like both by the Admiral and the French ambassador, each of whom made many inquiries of me as to how the conclusion of the truce was liked here; in what state the Emperor finds himself with regard to health; how I was pleased with the rule of his ministers, and many other similar inquiries, saying they made them of me confidentially as to an ambassador from your Serenity, who could speak freely and ought to do so, without offending their Majesties here. I made such replies as fairly satisfied them, dilating on several things observable at these courts touching the mode of negotiating. The Admiral then told me that shortly before, the Bishop of Arras had been to him in the Emperor's name, to apologize for not having been able to give him audience sooner, laying the blame on his indisposition, owing to which he should perhaps be unable to come into church to take the oath, so the Bishop thought it would be well to perform this act in his Imperial Majesty's chamber. To this the Admiral said he made answer that he was not come to regulate the Emperor's affairs, but to give him

1556.

such satisfaction as lay in his power. He said besides, that his King had treated and concluded the truce principally with the Emperor, and that he had no commission whatever from his most Christian Majesty to speak about peace, the like being told me by the ambassador also; and by the personages who have come with them, this truce is said to be rather a retreat for the purpose of mustering greater forces, than any design for negotiating peace. He also told me that, contrary to the custom of other ambassadors, he will not discuss such business as he may have to transact with the Bishop of Arras, but with the Emperor, save in case of some great difficulty, when for the avoidance of trouble to his Imperial Majesty he will be content to examine it with the Bishop of Arras in their respective houses alternately.

This morning the Admiral and the ambassador heard mass in the chapel of the palace, with King Philip, being opposite to him, seated on a bench covered with cloth of gold, and on the conclusion of the mass his Majesty moved from his place to the high altar, the Admiral and the ambassador doing the same from the other side; and there the Bishop of Arras in his episcopal habits, having uttered a few words in so low a tone as to be inaudible, presented the missal to the King, who placed his hand on it, swearing to observe what had been already said by the Bishop of Arras, who then gave him the image of our Lord to kiss; and this ceremony being accomplished they left his Majesty; and the Duke of Savoy kept the Admiral to dinner. Yesterday the Emperor rose from his bed, and to-morrow will give audience to the Admiral and the ambassador, and take the oath in his own chamber; after which the Admiral is expected to take leave, having said that he shall depart in three or four days.

Brussels, 28th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

439. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Lord of Monaco* charged his agent to complain to King Philip that his ministers have not named him specifically in the truce, he inferring that they considered him a vassal; and he requests his Majesty, knowing the agreement (*capitolazione*) between them, and that he is the King's servant solely by election, to give orders for him to be specified, as otherwise he shall renounce his service; and the said agent having communicated this to some of the ministers, was promised the grant of this demand, the commissioners being apologized for on the score of inadvertency.

There has arrived here Sir Henry Dudley [*sic*; Sir Henry Sidney ?]† an Englishman, destined by the Queen to be Governor of Ireland (*è arrivato qui il Signor Herico Dudleo Inglese destinato dalla Regina Governator d'Irlanda*), and he is come hither to kiss first

* Onorato I. Grimaldi. (See Chiusole "Genealogia delle case più illustri di tutto il mondo.")

† See Haydin's Book of Dignities, p. 441.

1556.

of all, by her order, the hand of her consort, to whom she has also written the cause of the arrests made by her, as your Serenity will already have heard from the Ambassador Michiel; saying moreover that she entertained no little suspicion of their having an understanding with that kinsman of the Duke of Northumberland who lately escaped to France,* and had plotted against her. King Philip is requested by the said Queen, and by the councillor [Sir John Masone] whom she keeps here, to expedite certain writings which were sent him a long while ago; and I have heard that he delays this business owing to the difference of opinion between the privy councillors (*i secreti ministri*), some saying, with regard to his titles, that first of all he should be styled King of Spain, and secondly King of England; whilst others maintain that in matters relating to the kingdom of England this order should be reversed, as the English would never tolerate the other style; this councillor [Sir John Masone] having said that Henry VI. of England, who was crowned King of France in Paris, when in that country, gave it precedence when writing to England, whereas when residing there and writing to France he did the contrary. Don Juan Manrique, a member of King Philip's privy council, has declared (and the like is said publicly) that nothing will be said about his Majesty's departure for England before September; and that next May the King of Bohemia will come hither, and be perhaps accompanied by his consort, to whom the King of Spain has sent 14,000 crowns for the expenses of the journey, his Majesty wishing his sister to come, in order through her medium the more easily to settle entirely the existing disputes between them, and such as might arise hereafter.

Brussels, 29th March 1556.

Postscript.—I hear that the Admiral and the French ambassador have now been to the Emperor, and that after a long conversation together his Imperial Majesty took the oath, the King of Spain not being present.

[*Italian.*]

March 30.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

440. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Lords of the Council are still diligently intent on the examination of the individuals imprisoned because of the conspiracy, having already detected a great part of them, and possibly the whole of their plot, as is proved by the opening of the ports, by the release of the ships, and by the permission for the passage of couriers. According to report hitherto the persons accused are solely military men, soldiers, and captains, who both on account of their religious opinions, and, as the kingdom has had a long peace, being doomed to idleness, without any pay, are consequently worse satisfied than the rest of the population, more anxious for change, and more bold and daring in attempting it. Amongst them mention is made, and according to report a warrant has been issued for his arrest, of one Master Croft,† an individual who from the proofs afforded by

* Sir Henry Dudley. (See Foreign Calendar, April 1556, pp. 221, 222.)

† Sir James Croft. (See Machyn's Diary, Index.)

1556.

him both here and elsewhere is considered one of the chief military commanders in the kingdom, having been heretofore Lord Deputy of Ireland, in which government he acquired great honour and repute, though subsequently, having been concerned in Wyatt's conspiracy, he was condemned to death, which he escaped, together with many others, in virtue of the amnesty clemently conceded by the Queen on the King's arrival. Besides these persons, I hear that they have also arrested Sir Anthony Kingston, the gentleman who some months ago, for the very bold and licentious language used by him in Parliament, was put in the Tower; and then, with the same clemency, her Majesty set him at liberty. The quality of the prisoners shows that the plot was not as represented by many persons, for the mere purpose of robbing and carrying off the plunder to enjoy it in revelry abroad, but that it had a much more important object, it being said that there was an understanding with some foreign prince or potentate (*principe o signor*). Another individual has been arrested here in London solely for having written letters to and received letters from Lord Courtenay, besides the other person who was his man of business. At the Court no one dares any longer to mention the affair, by reason of the secrecy maintained by the Lords of the Council, nor even with me has Cardinal Pole chosen to enter into any particulars, but the punishment, which will be very severe, will soon throw light on the matter.

Since the discovery the Queen has no longer chosen to appear in public, being greatly troubled, both on this account, as also by reason of the last news received from Brussels about the postponement of the King's return, because he is expecting there the King and Queen of Bohemia; and although the Regent here, Don Juan de Figueroa, endeavours to comfort her by saying that the visit of those princes was not quite settled, his Majesty having sent them a courier to ascertain whether they were coming or not, as he did not intend to be delayed . . . * nevertheless it appears to him it should be soon (*nondimeno pare li sia presta, and then follow other words corroded*), and that it would be agreeable to the Queen, as repeated in my presence by Cardinal Pole, in case of the arrival of the Princes aforesaid, that they should all come hither with her most Serene husband.

The sight of the most illustrious Legate† was most welcome to this entire population, and yet more so the office he performed by preaching the sermon, to the edification of many souls; and as his right reverend Lordship gathers such good fruit from his seed, he will show himself frequently, part of this city being under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He will thus make amends for being justly restrained by the Queen from going to his archbishopric, her Majesty not choosing by any means, during the King's absence, that he should be at the slightest distance from her, most especially when she has daily to encounter such serious and impor-

* Illegible in the original.

† In the church of St. Mary's of the Arches, on the 25th March.

1556.

tant troubles, for extrication from which she knows that none of her ministers can give more sincere or more prudent counsel than he does.

To the church of Winchester, vacant through the death of the late Chancellor, the Queen has appointed the Bishop of Lincoln, a person of exemplary doctrine and good life, but she has not yet conferred the see of Lincoln. They will subsequently send to Rome for the due ratifications (*a far le debite espeditioni*).

London, 30th March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

March 30.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

441. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Count de Lalain wished to come straight on to the court to despatch his business before the holidays, but his most Christian Majesty requested him to delay until after Easter, because they wish the Admiral to perform the office first with the Emperor and his son, it seeming that to be the last to perform this complimentary act (*questo complimento*) is more honourable.

[*Italian.*]

March 30 ?*

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl.x.

442. CARDINAL POLE to GENOVA (*al Genova*).

Heard with great pleasure by his letter received some months ago of his satisfaction at having married (*collocata*) his daughter so well, on which Pole congratulated him by a letter which perhaps miscarried. Genova now sends him his very learned discourse on the two commandments about charity, which Pole always understood as explained by St. Augustin and the other doctors of the church in many of their treatises against the Pelagians (*Palagiani*), nor has he now time to discuss the subject more at length with him, being so fully occupied that he has as yet been unable carefully to read Genova's discourse, in which he hopes to recognise his usual learning and sharp intellect, and his love for Pole in communicating to him this his conceit, for which he thanks him greatly. To give Genova some account of his state, informs him that having been elected Archbishop of Canterbury by the Pope, he lately had himself consecrated as bishop (*io mi sono ultimamente consacrato da Vescovo*), and hopes soon to go and reside at his see (*andar far la mia residentia*), where, with God's assistance, he trusts to do what is necessary for His service. Master Thomas Clement, an English law student, who was recommended heretofore to Genova by Pole, wishes to be remembered to the eminent Doctor [LL.D.] Pancirola,† which office Pole requests Genova to perform in Clement's name, and in his own likewise; and any especial favour and assistance in his studies obtained by Clement through Genova from Pancirola will be no less agreeable to Pole than if rendered to his own kinsman, as

* No date of time in MS., but in Hook's Life of Pole (p. 316), it is stated that he was consecrated on the 22nd March 1556, so I date as above.

† Guido Pancirola, one of the most celebrated jurists of the 16th century. In the year 1547 the Venetian Senate appointed him second Professor "*degli Instituti*" in the University of Padua.

1556.

Pole considers him such on account of Clement's father, his old and very dear friend. Pole offers his services to Pancirola, and informs Genoa that Monsignor Priuli is well, and salutes him affectionately.

London [30th March 1556?].

[*Italian.*]

March 31.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

443. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This afternoon I went to the Emperor to congratulate him, in the form enjoined me by your Serenity, and found his Majesty in good bodily health, and as by his eyes and movements he appeared more joyous than I had ever seen him on any other occasion, I told his Majesty, that when your Serenity heard how very well he was, you would charge me to congratulate him on this account likewise, as you did heretofore when you heard that he had renounced his states and realms to his most serene son, and when you heard through their Majesties' ambassador, and my letters, of the conclusion of the truce; but that I, knowing your Serenity's good intention, congratulated him cordially on his excellent health, as a manifest sign of his mental tranquillity, caused by having, according to his will and most prudent judgment, laid down the very heavy burdens of so many states and kingdoms, and from seeing at this commencement, that his most serene son rules them so prudently, and has made such an admirable truce for the benefit of Christendom, which you hoped would produce peace; showing in many words, the satisfaction felt by your Serenity at this most christian work, and assuring the Emperor that you would always maintain with his most serene son, such good friendship, and do him such honour, as his Imperial Majesty could desire; of which I did not think it necessary to render him further oral testimony, as since many years he might have been well able to know it, by a variety of facts; and that as a fresh proof of this you were sending a most worthy ambassador to king Philip. I then thanked him for the loving offices performed with your Serenity in his name and that of his most serene son, by the magnifico their ambassador, whose great goodness and prudence caused him, I said, to be much beloved by you. The Emperor replied precisely as follows: "Ambassador! I have known the Signory's good-will on so many other occasions that it is unnecessary now to repeat it; and as I have always reciprocated, so will I endeavour that the King my son may do" (*così operarsi che facci il Re mio figliuolo*); repeating himself thus: "for assuredly I have always seen an excellent will on the part of the Signory, and am sure that by reason of her good disposition and policy she will continue to act thus towards him, with whom, although there is no need for it, I will constantly use my influence (*farò officio*) that he may continue the friendship." He then said, "I am content that the truce should have taken place, for the causes which made me wish for peace, as I have so often said, nor is it of any use to recapitulate them. With regard to the renunciations, I also willingly accomplished that which it had long been on my mind to do, and continue to be glad of it (*et ne resto contento*), because from age and illness I am now weary, and because it was time no longer to allow the King

1556.

my son to remain without giving him command (*senza darle governo*); in addition to which, by nature I was not desirous of these burdens." And here he took to laughing heartily (*si mise a rider molto*), and said, "Now, indeed, Ambassador, are those words verified, which many and many continually repeated, that I wished to make myself monarch of the world; I assure you that I never entertained this thought, though I might have believed in the possibility of realizing it, not only by deeds, but by words" (*se ben havesse creduto non solo con fatti ma con parole di poterlo fare*). He then showed me his hands, crippled with gout, and said, "I have now no other thought than that of passing the rest of my life with as little inconvenience as possible, and I purpose retiring to some place, there to end it in the service of God." I thanked his Majesty extremely for having discoursed with me for such a length of time so graciously and kindly; again congratulating myself on finding him so quiet in mind, and with such Christian thoughts as I believed him to have had at all times; and I said I prayed God of his benignity to grant him a state of life (*stato di vita*) no less long and tranquil than it had hitherto been glorious; without disturbing him with news of the fleet in preparation at Constantinople, and not saying anything about the seizure of the ships in Sicily, knowing that it could not but distress him, as he professes not to choose to be spoken to about any business; and I sent my secretary to communicate the news-letters to the Bishop of Arras, that he might give them to his Majesty, should he think fit, letting him know my reason for not having done so.

Brussels, 31st March 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

444. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. d'Ibrenon, (*sic*) a gentleman of the Emperor's chamber, sent to condole with his niece* on the demise of her consort, the Count Palatine, reports that the Duke Otho Henry went armed with upwards of 800 horse to take possession of the Electorate, and met with no impediment.

The Admiral of France is now on the point of departure, and many of the nobility of these two courts have gone to his lodging to accompany him outside the town.

Brussels, 1st April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April '3.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

445. CARDINAL POLE to the CONSTABLE of FRANCE.

As the Abbot of San Saluto is returning to Italy, Pole has willed to pay his respects to Montmorency, and although convinced that he is well disposed to favour Parpaglia, thinks it his duty to request him to do so for love of Pole likewise, who will thus be especially obliged; and touching Montmorency's reply to Pole's last letter, delivered by Lord Clinton, has merely to thank him for his affection, and pray God to aid the Pope's pious wish about the peace, to

* Dorotea, daughter of Christian II., King of Denmark.

1556.

effect which, he is understood to have appointed legates to these princes [Philip and Henry II.], and to preserve and prosper Montmorency.

London, 3rd April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

446. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiral of France departed on the 1st instant, going by way of Antwerp to see that place ; and, besides presents, the King gave him leave to negotiate the ransom of his brother by the mother's side, M. d'Andelot, whose captors keep him now in the Castle of Milan.

The Bishop of Arras has been several times to negotiate at his lodgings with the French Ambassador,* *who says his right reverend Lordship now transacts business so timidly as clearly to show that he has not that favour and authority with the King of Spain which he enjoyed with the Emperor.* The Ambassador also said he heard that the King of Bohemia, although he gives hopes to the Emperor and King Philip of coming to see them according to their wish, does not intend to do so unless he be fully assured that the Emperor will renounce unconditionally (*liberamente*) to the King of the Romans the government of the empire, and that the private differences between all their Majesties be in a state to render an adjustment possible.

The Ferrarese Ambassador has had letters from his Duke, commending him for not having obeyed the order to return, and desiring him to inform King Philip's ministers that he will send an ambassador in his stead ; the ministry replied courteously, and hence proceeded the commission given to Don Federico de Enriquez to pass through Ferrara and visit the Duke, when on his way to take possession of Sicily.

Brussels, 4th April 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 4.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 68.

447. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Imperial Ambassador's mode of going out of Rome has been very angrily resented by the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa, it seeming to them that he evinced little respect for their commands, and that the gates, which ought to be held in such great account, had been forced ; so when on Palm Sunday the ambassador came to accompany the Pope to chapel, his Holiness, on hearing that he was in the palace, sent to tell him to depart ; whereupon this Marquis Sarria was much confused, and after consideration and consultation with the Cardinals Pacheco and Cueva (whom I saw draw aside with him), a fresh order supervened for him absolutely to go away, and by the advice of the Cardinals he did so. He subsequently endeavoured by all possible means to appease the Pope, but none of

* The name of this ambassador was Dasse Fontaine. (See Foreign Calendar, Brussels, 23rd March 1556.)

1556.

them as yet have succeeded; and having demanded audience for Tuesday, his Holiness promised it him, with the intention of sending him to Castle St. Angelo, and of perhaps doing something worse to him; of which having been warned by a person averse to so great a stir, and so very unusual a proceeding (*et tanta novità*), he did not keep the appointment.* They do not, however, fail to draw up a very minute process about this circumstance of having forced the gates, and some of his servants have been arrested on account of it. To all those who speak to him about the matter, the Ambassador excuses himself by saying that the Count of Montorio had told him that he might always at his pleasure pass the gates whenever he chose; and that when the gates were closed to him, he inquired of the officials whether they did this by order of his Holiness, or of the Cardinal, or of the Count of Montorio, and they answering in the negative, and saying the command had been given them by one of their captains, whom the ambassador knew to be a man who had been outlawed from the kingdom of Naples, and was the Emperor's enemy, he therefore inferred that the order was given for the purpose of affronting him personally, and consequently chose to open and pass through the gate.

It is moreover said, that with this opportunity they are forming a process about the death of an individual who was killed heretofore, in the house of the said ambassador, whose friends and adherents tell the story thus:—

A certain Portuguese having come to Rome, and being lodged in his house, went mad, and amongst other proofs of insanity he is said to have killed his wife without any cause, and, in the ambassador's house, causelessly wounded one of his servants. In his own chamber this individual killed a groom who waited upon him, and who was found dead. The Marquis of Sarria, that he might not die by the arm of the law, it seeming to him dishonourable for one of his countrymen (*uno della sua nazione*), and lodged in his own house, to be put to death in public, he sent him for trial to Naples to Don Bernardo, that he might send him to the galleys, or do what he pleased with him. The people here say that the dead man was put to death by the ambassador's command, and that to prevent the truth from ever being known, the perpetrator of the crime was immediately sent off to Naples. People are very anxious to see what turn this affair will take, and those best acquainted with the Pope's nature are of opinion that it cannot be advantageous for the ambassador. I understand from one, who heard it from the lips of Cardinal Caraffa himself, that at least the Pope will not allow the ambassador ever again to negotiate with him, nor acknowledge him; and the Imperialists say this mode of proceeding will make the Emperor and the King of England determine on no longer keeping here either ambassador, agent, or secretary.

During this week the Pope has performed the holy rites in the

* Sir Edward Carne does not enter into these details, but writes that a cardinal had desired him to tell Queen Mary that her consort would do well to recall Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro, and appoint in his stead a representative less disagreeable to Paul IV. (See Foreign Calendar, as before, p. 221.)

6.

[Sistine] chapel with great devotion, and in robust health, remaining erect in his pontifical habits without ever moving, thus inspiring all persons with much piety, and surprising them by such strength and vigour at his age.

It was a fine sight to see the Vicar of Christ (who in all his other actions maintains so much dignity) with his own hands washing the feet of 13 poor men, clad in white at his cost, and to each of whom he gave a medal, with his Holiness' arms on one side, and on the other the figure of our Saviour kneeling to wash the feet of his disciples; which medal is of the value of two treasury ducats, and was accompanied by two silver "*giulij*" for each of them. The first of these individuals was a man who declares openly that he is 116 years old. I do not know whether such be his age, but I saw him, and his age seemed to me very great. All the others became confused (*si contaminorno*), nor could they restrain their tears, save this man, who remained firm and intrepid. The Pope chose to lay out a considerable sum on the holy sepulchre, so that no man living remembers to have seen it represented more magnificently and decorously, he having given it to be understood that for things of this sort the Popes ought to spend largely.

Rome, 4th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

448. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last Saturday, in London, the heralds and royal officials proclaimed twelve individuals, who although not of great consideration, yet are for the most part gentlemen of Devonshire (in the province of Cornwall), of which county Lord Courtenay bears the name and title, rebels and traitors, for being privy to the conspiracy, and sharers in it,* part of whom went abroad, or were dispatched thither, before its discovery, perhaps for some hidden purpose; and part, anticipating the moment, took flight before they were sought for and summoned. Amongst them is one Henry Dudley, of the same family as the late Duke of Northumberland, to whom he was related;† he, like the greater part of the rest, having escaped beyond sea to France, as reported; all of them being considered factious individuals of bad life and worse intentions.

I understand that Lord Courtenay's agent, about whom I wrote, has been placed in yet closer confinement; another person, who also at the beginning used to be his servant (*che soleva in quel principio esser sceritor suo*), having also been arrested. His name is Stadan, (*sic*)‡ he being the step-son (*figliuolo della moglie*) of one of the wealthiest aldermen in London, and has the reputation of being a very meddlesome busybody, and not devoid of ability

* A copy of this proclamation is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, and is dated 1st April 1556. (See Verney Papers, p. 67.)

† An original document in the State Paper Office shows that Henry, or Harry Dudley was supposed to have been related to the late Duke of Northumberland, but in what precise manner does not appear. (See Verney Papers, p. 59, foot note.)

‡ William Stanton, alias Staunton, "late a captain." See Machyn, p. 195, and Verney Papers, pp. 61, 70, 71.

1556.

(*persona tenuta molto curiosa et non senza ingegno*). Of the prisoners in the Tower, I am told that eight or ten will be condemned and deservedly executed after these Easter holidays. Not only does it seem that Sir James Crofts was never arrested, but that they did not even summon him, which rejoices everybody, by reason of his universal good character; and the captain of the Isle of Wight [Sir William Uvedale] after being examined, was set at liberty, not having been found guilty of anything; but it is again confirmed that the conspirators purposed withdrawing into that island. The Lords of the Council, in short, proceed so secretly in this matter, that nothing can be known about it, save from the result.

From the daily increasing suspicion of the King's tardy return, as besides the letters of the 25th ultimo, brought by Lord Fitzwalter on his return from Brussels, the Queen has heard of fresh impediments and fresh excuses; her Majesty is determined to send this very day to the Imperial Court Lord Paget, now Lord Privy-Seal,* whose mission, with that of his colleague the Bishop of Ely, seemed not only suspended but given up. Lord Paget is sent under pretence of congratulating the Emperor and the King on the truce, and in order that with this opportunity he may perform such office as was announced in my foregoing letters with regard to the King's return, reminding him as impressively as possible not only of the desire of the most Serene Queen, and of the entire kingdom, but also of the need and necessity for compliance by reason of her Majesty's age, which does not admit of delay: and, as told me by Cardinal Pole, Lord Paget will request the King, should he be delayed by the wish to wait for the King of Bohemia, or any other impediment, as his Bohemian Majesty has come so far, to let him proceed even to England, where the King and he can treat and decide all that and other business (*tutti quelli et li altri negotij*), as conveniently as in Flanders, her consort being no less at home here than there; and in the meanwhile the most Serene Queen will not distress herself.

With the opportunity afforded by this commission, Lord Paget will be enabled to discover the inmost determination (*volontà*) of the King and of the Emperor, and being deep in the confidence (*confidentissimo*) of both one and the other, ascertain *whether this delay is caused by any hidden motive; or because the King wishes for greater authority, and greater public marks of respect; or greater convenience and scope (larghezza) for availing himself of the revenues of the realm than he has had hitherto; or matters of a similar sort, which sovereigns are not in the habit of communicating save to persons in their confidence, and least of all when they fancy themselves questioned and catechized. And in case of the necessity for coming to any adjustment (composicione), should a medium be required, Lord Paget, both now and ever, will always be the mediator and regulator (compositore) between the most*

* William Lord Paget was appointed Lord Privy Seal on the 29th January 1556. (See Preface to Machyn's Diary, p. xvi.)

1556.

Serene Queen and the King; he thus establishing himself in the closest confidence of both one and the other, and increasing his repute to an unlimited extent, warranting his hopes of every possible reward from their Majesties. Thus, as told me on good authority, the wish and aim cherished for a long while by this shrewd and clever (accorto et valente) statesman, for this legation, will have its full effect (la sua piena satisfattione).

From what I hear, Lord Clinton* is destined to perform a similar office of congratulation on the truce in France; but his appointment has not yet been published.

It seems that here they have again resumed a certain negotiation for the peace, by means of the Abbot of San Saluto and the French ambassador at this court; on which account, the one has delayed his intended departure for Italy, and the other has despatched his secretary to the ministry in France. Will endeavour to ascertain particulars, and if successful, will transmit them from day to day.

London, 7th April 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pusini.]

April 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

449. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of Spain returned yesterday from the monastery where he passed Passion week, attending divine service, washing the feet of the 12 poor men, and listening to the discourse of his confessor [Francisco Alfonso de Castro] concerning the conscientious bestowal of offices, especially with regard to the restitution of Piombino. He also hunted several times in the forest where the monastery is situate.

Yesterday I sent my secretary to secretary Vargas, reminding him to take to the King, for his signature, the letter addressed to the Viceroy of Sicily [Don Juan de Vega]. He replied that he would do so, but, being well aware how important delay is, on account of the merchandise, I sent my secretary to Don Ruy Gomez to request he would give a fresh order for the despatch of this letter. Don Ruy Gomez expressed surprise that Vargas had not taken the letter to his Majesty, and told him that he must present it to his Majesty this day; and he replied in the affirmative, but said that he had not yet drawn it up (*di non haverla anchor spiegata*), which is contrary to what he told my secretary; so it is evident that the public report of his favouring the interests of the Viceroy in various ways is true.

Of this secretary Vargas I hear great complaints from the agents of Genoa, Malta, and Monaco, and from all the Sicilians.

Brussels, 8th April 1556.

[Italian.]

* Clinton, Edward, 12th Lord, 11th Earl of Lincoln. His mission to France is recorded in Foreign Calendar, date 8 April 1556, p. 221.

1556.
April 8.
Original
Despatch.
Venetian
Archives.

450. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A gentleman of these provinces who was sent by the King of Spain to purchase hunters and hacks (*cavalli da caccia et da viaggio*), brings back word that the French have taken away all the war-horses, and well nigh all the others of every description; so some of the chief personages of these courts say openly that the King has great cause to fear the proceedings of these Frenchmen, as through the opportunity afforded by this truce, they go about inspecting the fortresses in these provinces and elsewhere, forming many sorts of designs, for the purpose of finding an opportunity, on his departure for Spain, to break the truce to their advantage; and they say that the Admiral of France went away dissatisfied, because he was unable to obtain the release of his cousin the son of the Lord High Constable; and although the King allowed him to treat for the release of his brother, M. d'Andelot, with the persons whose prisoner he is, they nevertheless will insist on so heavy a ransom, and devise such means to protract the negotiation, as to prolong the truce likewise; these two prisoners, and the Duke de Bouillon, the son-in-law of Madame de Valentinois [Diane de Poitiers], being of such great importance, that they will be the cause of its continuance. A suit of tapestry worth eight thousand crowns has been purchased by the Queen of France [Eleanor of Austria], widow of King Francis; and she is said to be sending it to the present King, in order more easily to obtain the revenues of her dowry, and her pecuniary arrears.

The King's confessor has been heard to say that in the privy council there has been a long debate about finding means thoroughly to secure the affairs of Italy; so that should the French break the truce before the expiration of the five years, or subsequently, they may find such precautions taken, as to disable them from giving such trouble as they have done hitherto; and amongst other things, it was proposed to elect as Duke of Milan a private nobleman the dependant of his Majesty, that they may thus induce all the potentates of Italy to support him against the French, and secure their other Italian states.

Lord Paget is expected here, being sent by the Queen from England to visit the Emperor, and congratulate him and the King on the conclusion of the truce, and also to give her consort account of several events chanced in that kingdom since his departure, and of things necessary to be done there, for which his Majesty's presence would be both profitable and necessary; but from what I hear on good authority, the chief cause (*la principalissima causa*) of his coming, is to elicit the true reason why he does not return, and whether he really wishes to go, and when; it being heard here through several "advices" (*diversi avisi*) that the said Queen is beyond measure exasperated (*sdegnada*) by what she considers this well nigh contemptuous treatment received from her consort; so it is supposed that by means of this Lord Paget, she chose to be quite assured of his Majesty's going, that she may put her mind at more ease than she enjoys at present; and it is said that in like manner

1556.

as for this purpose* she could not send any person of more subtle intellect, or more dear to the King, so will he exert himself more willingly than anybody else, from the hope, by doing good service, of getting into greater favour with the Queen than he is, by reason of his favouring the Lutheran opinions.

The Regent of Milan has told me that should the reply of the King of Bohemia be such as to confirm his coming, according to the hopes given by him to their Majesties, King Philip will not go to England until September; but should the decision prove contrary, he will proceed thither much sooner than is believed, it not being for his advantage (*non tornandoli bene*) that the Queen's angry remonstrances should be converted into hatred.

Count Filippo Doria departs this day postwise on his way back to Genoa, nor has he been able to obtain Castellamare, which he demanded, the place having been given heretofore to his father, nor any other recompense, nor authority to fit out two galleys, to be paid and included amongst his Majesty's other vessels.

Brussels, 8th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

451. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Easter Tuesday the Count de Lalain arrived here at the Court, having been met in the King's name by the Duke d'Enghien, brother of the King of Navarre, by the Prince of Salerno, by the Duke de Longueville, and by the Prince of Mantua, with a numerous company, and went to his Majesty; he presented the King with two letters of credence, one from the Emperor, the other from his most serene son, and then visited the most Christian Queen and the other ladies (*dame*). On the morrow he went to mass with the King, and on its termination a tabernacle with holy relics was brought to him, and the treaty of truce having been read summarily, his Majesty swore to its observance on the aforesaid relics, and then made the said Count dine at his own table; he being subsequently banqueted by the Constable and the Cardinal de Chastillon [Odet de Coligny], the Admiral's brother. I visited his Excellency, and congratulated him both on the conclusion of the truce, and on his having been its chief minister. His Excellency thanked me cordially for my visit, and stated his good hope to make a lasting peace between the two powers. I hear from several quarters that in long conversations held by him with the King and the Constable, he exhorted them to prepare for this negotiation, giving assurance that the Emperor and his son would be no less well inclined, as stated also by M. de Sipier,* who has been sent hither to the King by the Admiral, with the ratification confirmed under oath by the Emperor and King Philip, and he brings word that the Emperor told the Admiral to exhort the King of France in his name to incline towards the peace (*che l'essortasse alla dispositione della pace*), as he would not fail to perform every office of the same kind with the King his son;

* Cipierre, Marcellly, S. Philibert de. (See Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, Index.)

1556.

and in reply his most Christian Majesty made exuberant professions to the Count of his desire for the quiet of Christendom, though as yet I do not hear that any precise proposal has been made, nor any arrangement about the mode of negotiating; but on the arrival of the Imperial Ambassador, the Lieutenant d'Amont, who has been detained on the road by a fit of the gout, something more may perhaps be elicited.

The aforesaid Count de Lalain departed this morning, the King having presented him with two chests containing wrought silver (*due credenze d'argenti lavorati*), each of them being valued at 4,000 crowns.

Yesterday a courier arrived in six days from Rome to acquaint the King with the dispute between the Pope and the Imperial Ambassador, who forced one of the gates of Rome in order to go out hunting; but here apparently they do not attach much importance to this; and Cardinal Caraffa, by a letter to the Cardinal of Lorraine, confirms his coming to this court.

Amboise, 10th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 11.

Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 69.

452. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Imperial Ambassador wishing to mitigate the Pope's anger, about which I wrote in my last, and considering Cardinal Caraffa the best mediator, had a long conversation with him, the result of which was that the Cardinal said there was no other remedy than to ask pardon of his Holiness, which the ambassador does not refuse to do, but would fain not utter such submissive words and in public as those which the Cardinal says are necessary. The matter is still turbid, but with hopes of the possibility of an adjustment; most especially as the ambassador's servants (who as written by me were arrested at the commencement) have been released, with the exception of one, who, when he may be said to have forced the gate (*quando in certo modo sforzò la porta*), went out of Rome.

A few days ago, certain prelates being present at the Pope's dinner, he sent for them into his chamber, and speaking pure elegant Latin fluently, as is his wont, he reproved them for not going to their sees, said they left their spouse a widow, and the flock without its shepherd, and that at least until the enactment of the reform, which would compel them with greater force, they were to go to their residences, and not waste their time in visits and banquets, and perhaps also at the gambling table, as it was a very great shame that in the chapels where so many bishops sat, they should select friars, and even laymen, to teach their flocks, as for the most part they are the persons who preach the sermons which ought to be delivered by the bishops themselves; which discourse made by the Pope was well nigh half a pledge for what he purposes doing (*una meza cappara di quel che disegna fare*).

The Pope has lately busied himself much in having "Agnus Dei's" made with the wax of the Paschal torches, and on Thursday he hallowed them with much devotion, after having made them remain a night beneath the bodies of the apostles Peter and Paul, under the

1556.

custody of his own chaplains, and of those of the cardinals.* It was a ceremony which caused a display of great piety on the part of those who witnessed it, but the only persons admitted by the Pope were the cardinals and bishops. His Holiness said the mass, hallowed the water, incorporated the chrismatic oil, and washed the "Agnus Dei's," being, indeed, assisted by the cardinals, though they officiated alternately, whereas the Pope never desisted until the end, the ceremony lasting from the 13th to the 19th hour (half-past 10 to half-past 1); and he said he performed the ceremony so minutely, and gave the blessing with so much mental satisfaction, because heretofore when *in minoribus* he had proof of the efficacy (*della virtù*) of these "Agnus Dei's," for that a house adjoining his own being on fire, he threw into the flames an "Agnus Dei" of this sort, and they were quenched, the Agnus Dei remaining intact; and he still preserved and held it dear, as a sign of the goodness of our Lord God, and of the authority given to the High Pontiffs. To-day in [the Sistine] chapel these "Agnus Deis" were distributed as usual, there being a very great concourse of persons to see the sight. It is customary to perform this ceremony in the first year of every new pontificate, and subsequently every seven years.

There preached here this Lent, in the church of the Holy Apostles (*in Sto. Apostolo*), the Franciscan of the order of Friars Minors, who is I believe well known to many of your Excellencies, from his having preached in various places at Venice. This father, having adroitly induced many of the prostitutes of Rome to go to the sermon on the day when the gospel is read about the sinner supposed to be Mary Magdalen,† he persuaded them to change their mode of life, availing himself also of a circumstance which occurred on the preceding day, when a scelerat, a Veronese, for the purpose of robbing her, murdered a woman of this sort, her housewife, and a little girl, in her own house, inflicting many wounds on their breasts. He promised the prostitutes that they should be married, received into convents, and assisted in various manners, so many of them betook themselves, for the purpose of conversion, to the houses of divers Roman gentlewomen, and although they were several hundred in number, I delayed until now my account of this proceeding to your Serenity, suspecting that a variety of circumstances might make them change their minds after the holidays, as came to pass, for of 257 that they were, only 20 now remain; and these last also are uncertain, as the hopes given them proved vain, and the effects were at variance with the words.

When visiting the Cardinal of Augsburg, he said that the Diet of Germany had been prolonged, and the King of the Romans will not attend it again without a fresh intimation, and that the renunciation of the empire will soon be treated. He has also had letters from Munich, informing him that the subjects of the Duke of Bavaria have made four anti-Catholic demands of their sovereign—to eat

* Sir Edward Carne wrote to Queen Mary that he had sent her a box of these Agnus Dei's, "and a little book in Italian declaring the ceremonies used in making them, and at the end of it their virtue, which is great." (*See Foreign Calendar*, 5th May 1556, p. 225.)

† St. Mark xiv., verses 3, 4, gospel read on the Monday before Easter.

1556.

meat every day, to communicate *sub utrdque specie*, that churchmen (*chierici*) be allowed to marry, and that the gospel be preached freely (*et la libera predicatione dell' Evangelio*), the petitioners declaring that they would neither pay taxes nor give assistance against the Turks unless these demands were granted.

The affair of the peace between their Majesties and the most Christian King draws to a close. Don Juan Maurique, writing to Don Garcilasso de Vega, gives great hope of a good settlement. The Pope has determined to send legates, Cardinal Caraffa to the King of France, and Cardinal Motula* to the King of England, and yesterday unexpectedly summoned congregation of the cardinals for this purpose, saying that hitherto, those sovereigns being irritated, he had not chosen to send anyone, but the truce being made, and as they gave ear to discourse about peace, he would send legates, to which the cardinals assented; but when the persons were proposed, Cardinal de la Cueva opposed the nomination of Cardinal Caraffa, because it would have been well to send some other individual more in the Emperor's confidence; to which the Pope replied that Cardinal Caraffa was very good for this purpose, and that although he had served the King of France lately, he had previously been in the service of the Emperor, and quitted it from cause, and he was now serving this Holy See and his Holiness himself, who was the universal master, and the friend of all of them; whereupon the cardinals acquiesced and confirmed the appointments. On Monday, in consistory, the legates will receive the cross, as the Pope chooses them to depart shortly. Caraffa assumes this mission very joyfully. From what he this day told me himself, all business will be in the hands of the Count of Montorio.

Rome, 11th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 11.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
2nd Letter,
No. 70.

453. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, although the Pope was very tired, owing to the distribution of the "Agnus Dei's," I went to him, when he said to me, "Yesterday we elected two legates; our nephew the cardinal to the King of France, and to the King of England our old and most affectionate servant the Cardinal di Motula. In truth we can no longer trust any but these two, who we know for certain will infallibly do as we shall order and write to them from time to time. Cardinal Caraffa will be very well received in France, both for his own sake and ours, and he is also adapted (*atto*) to any great undertaking, as he is good and courageous (*perchè ha bontà ed animo*). Then of the other, even the Spaniards here seem to place confidence in him. The legates will depart speedily, and amongst their other commissions they will be charged to have as much regard in this treaty for the State of Venice as for our own. Had there been time we should have wished our nephew to pass through Venice, and to

* Scipione Rebiba, Bi-shop of Motula in Puglia, made Cardinal by Paul IV., 25th December 1555. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 147.)

1556.

offer his services in our name to the Signory, and this not being possible, it will suffice for you to do so." On my answering, "Your Holiness will have received some intelligence to the effect that peace may ensue?" the Pope rejoined, "There are, in fact, some advices," but speaking with you, who are the mind and mouth-piece of the Signory, even should there be hope of peace, it rests on the same grounds as the truce, which (as we told you heretofore) they stipulated, not voluntarily but of necessity, and by reason of the fear they had of us, whereas we hear from some of them that they now curse it. Unless this fear of us and of the Signory induce them to make peace, we know not what can be hoped. The King of France is a good man; he would do anything for us, and would send the Queen and his sons as hostages. We have had experience of him in many matters. The Emperor no longer exists, and the Lord has chosen to punish him for his so many sins by depriving him of his intellects, as manifest to the world. We believe that he will have left a son like unto himself. I knew this Emperor in 1513, when by order of Leo X., in the first year of his pontificate, I was sent ambassador to England,* and as the nature of the times required it, I went to my legation by way of Germany. I then found him a lad 13 years of age; and on my return from England, also by order of the same pontiff, I accompanied him to Spain. So long back as at that time, magnifico ambassador, one discovered in him certain flowers of those fruits which have since been savoured" (and here, exciting himself by extraordinary gestures, he continued), "a thirst for domination, an insufferable pride, a contempt for religion, for we will ask you what other emperor but Charles would have held councils and so many diets with the intervention of heretics and Lutherans? Who would have dissembled so much as he has done for the purpose of reigning? Who refused to acknowledge pontiffs, nay, kept them prisoners? Who but he sacked this city, and perpetrated that horrible impiety? for, although absent, he ordained and was gratified by those misfortunes of this Holy See, and of all Italy. Magnifico ambassador, we could not refrain from telling you everything. He believes that your territory, that of this Holy See, and of the world, must be his, and we have occasionally said to some of his adherents, *if this lust (libidine) of dominion and of mastery over all men, which you cannot conceal, proceeded from a wish to render cities and empires abounding in all things wealthy and fertile, it might perhaps be tolerated; but what province, what noble, well-stored, and wealthy city ever fell into your hands that did not remain miserable, impoverished, and starving and in such a state that worse could not be imagined. Do you wish to do so by the rest of the world?* By us they shall not act thus, nor should they do so by you, for they do not love you, and if they do not entirely declare themselves, it is because they have not seen a good opportunity, though so far as they could they have shown their will. You must remember about the export—permits of Puglia, with

* See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, 16th November 1513, vol. i., No. 4,563, p. 702; also Venetian Calendar, 6th February 1514, vol. ii., No. 372, p. 158.

1556.

how much difficulty they gave them to you, and with how many fresh imposts. Of this Prevesa may bear you good witness. We tell you everything with such affection, as you perceive, because we have no less care for that blessed city, and the State of Venice, than for our own. *Va vobis* (as the poet, full of spirit, says) *qui adjungitis domum ad domum et consecratis agros usque ad terminum loci!*

"As you perceive, we speak freely. We wish for counsel from those lords. They are sage; they know very well, through their experiences of the government of the world, what can be hoped for from barbarian Princes (*principi barbari*), the natural enemies both of the Italian name and of the Venetian Republic, and from those Princes of whom they have witnessed proofs. We, in short, have no hope of peace, save such as we have told you, and the legates will serve to give us true account of those who shall impede it, and for what cause; but the point is for there to be a good understanding between us and you. On our part it will exist always, and what I have now told you is firm in this head."

Rome, 11th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 12.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

454. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning, after having communicated to the King of Spain the news-letters from Constantinople, and thanked him for the loving offices performed by his ambassador with your Serenity, and also for the despatch of the matter relating to the ships detained in Sicily,—touching the truce and peace, the King said that he on his part would not fail to observe the one and to make the other, provided the King of France was equally well disposed; and with regard to the orders for the release of the ships, he said he had given them willingly before I spoke to him, but had forgotten to tell me so when I gave him the memorial. In my rejoinder I mentioned the many excesses committed to the detriment of the Republic's subjects by the captain of the galliot which was captured, and this I did designedly, that he may know of himself that the ministers who favour Don Juan de Vega are impassioned.

Don Ruy Gomez dined with me to-day, staying a long while afterwards, conversing very familiarly on various subjects; and when I thanked him for the goodwill shown me in the affair of the ships detained in Sicily, he replied that what he had done was in conformity with the King's mind, and that if the other ministers had not done the like, it was owing to their private passions, and that your Serenity should hold in account the sole words and deeds of his Majesty himself, assuring me earnestly that the King's mind was always to live on good terms with your Serenity.

From his conversation I elicited that he had very little hope that this truce could last long, by reason of the King of France evincing surprise at so much delay in despatching M. de Lalain, who went in the name of the Emperor and King Philip to swear to the truce; and that the French ministers, before confirming it, according to the

1556.

articles of agreement, endeavoured first to obtain restitution of prisoners and places, here and in Italy.

Brussels, 12th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 12.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

455. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A gentleman accredited to the Emperor has arrived from the Count Palatine to perform the due offices on his taking possession of the Electorate. This mission has pleased both courts, as a proof of the Count no longer being ill-intentioned towards the Emperor, who has sent three German noblemen to all the princes and states of the Empire to give them notice of his having sworn to the truce, and with a commission to offer them all the forces of his son for the benefit and honour of the Empire. The French ambassador says he knows that they are also commissioned to request them to make a defensive league, and to authorise King Philip to levy in Germany, for service in Italy, or in any other country where he may require them, such troops as may be needed by him, but the ambassador believes that the design will not succeed.

The two "Commendators" resident with their Majesties here in the name of the Grand Master of Rhodes have lately shown newsletters to the King and his ministers, about the fleet now in course of preparation by Sultan Soliman, with the intention, they suspect, of attacking Malta, for the preservation of which island they request supplies, especially grain from Sicily, and a certain amount of Spanish veterans; and they received a favourable answer to both requests.

Yesterday the Papal Nuncio complained of what had been done by the King's ambassador and the Emperor's [Marquis de Sarria] resident with the Pope, to certain officials at one of the gates of Rome, for which proceeding some persons tax the ambassador with imprudence, *whilst others say that by reason of the Pope's aversion to the Emperor and King Philip he resents the acts of their representative, as he would not do were they committed by others.*

The Bishop of Arras when talking to-day with the Mantuan Ambassador asked whether, on the departure of the King of England, he purposed following him. He replied that he should act according to the commands of the Emperor, to whom he had been appointed. The Bishop rejoined it would be well for him to ask his lord for leave, as it seemed to him, the Bishop, both fitting and advantageous for the Duke that as he kept an ambassador with the King of France, so he should do the like by the King of Spain, wherefore it would be well for the Duke to order him to follow the King; and that he, the Bishop, would write an autograph letter to the Cardinal of Mantua, offering himself if necessary in any business relating to the Empire to take charge of it, as if he were the ambassador in person.

Brussels, 12th April 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.

April 13.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

456. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL CORNARO.

Has to thank him much for his affectionate courtesy in depriving himself during so long a period of the services of their [friend] Messer Andrea. It is needless for him to say how much this has gratified him, as Cornaro can comprehend it, from his knowledge and experience of Andrea's sufficiency, goodness, and other qualities rendering him worthy to be loved by everybody; and as Pole kept him about his person hitherto as the intimate of Cornaro, so does he wish him henceforth to hold the same place with his Lordship, as the intimate of Pole. Did not think it expedient for him to depart until now, when Pole, being appointed to the see of Canterbury knows that he must remain in England to take care of it, and prays God that this may prove to his service.

Greenwich, 13th April 1556.

[Italian.]

April 14.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

457. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the King spoke to me about the Count de Lalain, saying that he had comported himself so frankly and with such candour as thoroughly to prove himself the great gentleman he is (*per gran gentilhomo come vera*), and he then told me in detail how the Admiral had transacted his business at the Imperial Court, saying that first King Philip swore to the treaty of truce and to the agreement about the prisoners, the like being also done a few days later by the Emperor, whom the Admiral found so debilitated and in such a bad state that it was almost impossible for him to be worse, and that his Majesty himself narrated to him at very great length the state of suffering in which he was, saying that his incessant pains were such as at times to make him gnaw his hand and long for death, wherefore it was superfluous for him to swear to the truce, as he had no longer either States or the wish to undertake any enterprise, but that he would nevertheless take the oath as he did, swearing simultaneously to the agreement about the prisoners; the Admiral writing, however, that although the Emperor's frame was so enfeebled, and well-nigh wasted, yet he recognized in him the same prudence and judgment as ever.

His most Christian Majesty then told me besides that on the morrow the Bishop of Arras went to visit the said Admiral, and having commenced talking about the prisoners and their release, the Bishop said that many of the French had not fairly stated what they ought to pay for their revenues and pensions (*che molti delli Francesi non havevano giustamente dato in nota quello che dovevano pagare per le loro entrate et pensioni*), and that therefore a fuller declaration would be required for their release. To this the Admiral replied that if there were any of whom they had doubt they might give a list to the ambassador who was coming hither that he might verify the fact, as they would meet with no difficulty whatever; to which the Bishop not assenting he told the Admiral that it would be well for the Duke de Bouillon, and the Constable's son to remain as hostages

1556.

for all, and that thus all the others might be released; whereupon the Admiral replied very angrily that this proposal was contrary to the agreement, and that it would be quite sufficient for the two personages aforesaid to answer for themselves. The Bishop and the Admiral parted in great anger, but on the morrow Don Ruy Gomez having gone to visit the Admiral, the latter complained greatly of what the Bishop had said to him, and in reply Don Ruy Gomez evinced great surprise at the office performed by his right reverend Lordship, who had no commission whatever to that effect, and filled the Admiral (*et empi esso Sig. Armiraglio*) with fair words and hopes; "but," said the King, continuing his discourse, "as yet no result whatever is visible, and I spoke on the subject with M. de Lalain at great length, without being able to elicit anything but fair words, and at length I told him that should they not choose to release them they must not suppose that France would be therefore annihilated, as each of the prisoners has either sons or brothers, and their families will still exist, though as the Emperor and the King took the oath I cannot bring myself to believe that they will fail me (*che mi manchino*)."

Having thanked his Majesty for these particulars, I said that thus was it to be hoped, and by so much the more as it was also heard that the Imperialists seemed desirous of negotiating a good peace with his Majesty, who rejoined, "The Emperor spoke about it with the Admiral, and the Count de Lalain with me, but both sides limited themselves to general expressions, demonstrating goodwill without coming to anything in particular." After having answered some inquiries I spoke to him about affairs on the borders of Piedmont, which he said would he hoped be adjusted.

The King added that he supposed I had heard of the disturbances in England, and when I replied that they were known to me in part, he continued, "They wanted to rob the Queen's treasury, and plotted to put her to death, so that kingdom is more upside down than ever (*è più sotto sopra che mai*), and the Queen wishes for her husband, who cares but little about it (*et la Regina desidera il marito, et lei se ne cura poco*), but through the coming of these ambassadors whom the Queen is sending the future will be made manifest;" and with this the King closing the discourse I thanked him again in your Serenity's name, and took leave. When speaking about English affairs with the Constable, he said, "Ambassador! I will tell you a thing privately, and do not forget it, as for my own part I believe it will certainly come true. I am of opinion that ere long the King of England will endeavour to dissolve (*rompere*) his marriage with the Queen, and should this come to pass remember then this prophecy." General dissatisfaction is visible here, and great doubt of what may happen, though most persons believe that the release of the prisoners will be delayed until this year's season for warfare is over, the Imperialists perhaps suspecting that if they were set at liberty they might turn their thoughts to fresh undertakings.

Amboise, 14th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.
April 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

458. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The suspicion induced apparently by the conspirators on the Isle of Wight has caused the government, in order to secure itself entirely, and discover on the spot whether any of the inhabitants were implicated, and at the same time to provide for its safety (the site being considered of importance, wherefore a certain castle there* is provided in ordinary with a garrison, guns, and ammunition,) to send thither the Marquis of Winchester, the Lord Treasurer, and Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral. The latter by reason of his office is bound to make the requisite military provision, both offensive and defensive, for the places on the coast, and to execute the commands of the crown, for which purpose I understand that he has had a large amount of guns and ammunition conveyed thither; whilst the Marquis of Winchester, being a personage in great esteem and authority, not merely in all the neighbouring country where his marquisate and estates are situate, but also on the island itself, will consequently be better able than anyone to ascertain whether clandestine designs in favour of the conspirators were on foot there, and by his presence and counsel easily provide for whatever shall be necessary.

Besides the precautions taken in the Isle of Wight, they cleverly (*destramente*) wrote all over the kingdom to have registers made of all able-bodied men in case of a necessity for arming; and it is told me that all the nobility and gentry of the country (*signori et nobili del paese*) have been desired to keep on the watch, and ready to present themselves on the first summons; many persons adding that an order has been issued for the recall of all English absentees, both those who have permission to reside abroad, and those who have not, without any exception, and that the proclamation will soon be printed. And a certain rumour purporting that the conspirators had a special understanding with the King of France has been more rife than usual, and that he had promised them every sort of favour and assistance, perhaps in order to anticipate and to rid himself of the doubt and suspicion which grows upon him daily more and more (*che ogni dì li cresce maggiore*), that the Emperor and the King his son will by force endeavour not only to render themselves stronger and more secure than they are at present, but to make themselves absolute masters of this kingdom; nor for some time have these sentiments been merely written publicly from France, but are moreover confirmed (*così venendo già alcuni giorni di là pubblicamente non solo scritto, ma replicato*); a friend of mine, a person of authority, having lately seen a letter from M. de James (*sic*), French resident at Luxemburg, addressed to the French ambassador here, telling him that in that neighbourhood, by order of the Emperor and the King, ten companies of infantry have lately been raised, some others already on foot being filled up, all which are to serve in England, the King intending to bring them with him, having to return hither,

* According to some notes made by Pietro Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in England in 1618, it seems that at that time the captain of the Isle of Wight received an annual salary of 20*l*, and his garrison of nine soldiers 12*d*. per diem each.

1556.

for the guard and security of his person, and he gives a preference to German and Flemish troops, because they are less hateful to the English than the Spaniards, or any other nation.

In conformity with these advices, although received after the truce, the merchants wrote recently from Flanders that some soldiery were being raised, but as no subsequent confirmation of the fact arrived it was not credited. It now seems that these last advices have revived the suspicion; and I know that when they were shown to Cardinal Pole from time to time as they came to hand, whereas previously he conceived disbelief of those received from the Court of France (although, to say the truth, they came from the Nuncio, resident there, a person considered acute and judicious), he remained in suspense about these from Luxemburg; the person who showed them to him not having chosen to say that they came through France, lest if they were true, and not artfully disseminated by the French, he might appear their partisan and apologist for the King's understanding with the conspirators (in modo che se fussero veri et non studiosamente seminati da Francesi, per mostrar il confidente di coloro et ricuoprir con questo et discolpar la intelligentia che havesse havuto dare (sic) [il Re ?] con li congiurati). If, as premised by me, the advices be true, there would be cause for anxiety in every respect.

In the meanwhile here, not only does there not seem to be any expectation of the arrival of King Philip with these fresh troops, but on the other hand an irritation and anger is manifested against the most Christian King, to whose court, two days ago, Lord Clinton was sent in haste, and so suddenly and in such confusion that neither he nor his attendants had time to provide themselves with many necessary articles of apparel, which for the sake of dispatch were supplied them from the Queen's wardrobe. According to report, besides offering congratulations on the truce, in conformity with the office performed at Brussels by Lord Paget, he will complain to his most Christian Majesty of the harbour which it is understood he gives to English rebels, contrary to the agreements and express treaty between the two crowns.

I am told that Lord Paget will settle the mode to be observed in the heading of Patents and Public Acts, which all commence with "Philip and Mary," enumerating first of all the titles of their realms, according to their order (*per l'ordine che tra essi tenjono*), it not seeming by any means proper to the English ministry (*alli signori Inglesi*) that amongst these titles the kingdoms of Spain should take precedence of those of England and of France.

London, 14th April 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

April 18.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me.
Letter No. 71.

459. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday the Pope ordered consistory for the following Monday to give the cross to the legates, which he, however, did not do, the supposed reason being that the pecuniary supply for their departure

1556.

was not yet made, on which account his Holiness did not choose to keep them so long confined to the house, as after receiving the cross they are accompanied by the cardinals beyond the gate of Rome, and thenceforth do not again show themselves in public.

It is said that Caraffa purposes making a very grand display, both as being cardinal—nephew of a pope, and also because he is an Italian, wishing to demonstrate in France the magnificence and dignity of this most noble province; so besides the Archbishops of Cosenza and Santa Severina, the Bishop of Pola, Giulio Orandino, *auditor di Ruota*, and other theologians, he will be accompanied by some sixty Roman, Neapolitan, and Bolognese noblemen, including many captains, and Marshal Strozzi, all with their attendants in livery, but at their masters' cost. It is also said that the Archbishop Orsino [Archbishop of Sta. Severina], son of the late Lord Valerio, and whom I knew at Padua, a very genteel personage, may with this opportunity remain Nuncio in France, whilst Commendone, Bishop of Zante, who accompanies Cardinal Motula, will remain with the King of England; and although he (Commendone) has received money for his outfit, he told me he could not stir without the aid of 300 crowns, and a certain monthly assignment on account of his salary, he being very poor. The defrayment of these costs will require a good sum of money, on the provision of which they are very intent.

On the day of the consistory, the Cardinal of Augsburg [Otho Truschke] departed very dissatisfied, although on that day he dined with the Pope, not in public, but at his little table (*lavorino*), where he rarely has a guest. His Holiness, after promising 10,000 crowns, gave him only 1,000, which the Cardinal said he would not have accepted had he not feared putting him into a passion; but when at Venice he purposes buying trifles to that amount, and sending them to his Holiness.

By letters from Naples dated the 11th it is heard that the donative of that kingdom has been fixed at a million of gold, and 25,000 crowns for the Viceroy, the Duke of Alva, as usual, the news of which donative will be conveyed to the King of England by the Lord Marc' Antonio Colonna.

On Wednesday last, at the hour of the Pope's dinner, the Emperor's ambassador sent his brother, Don Rodrigo, to ask for audience, as he had some business of his Prince's to negotiate; and he also had a memorial presented to his Holiness, who, putting on his spectacles and beginning to read it, got into such a rage that, laying both memorial and spectacles on the table, he said in a loud voice in Spanish, "*God's life! let him not come. (Non vegni, vivit Dominus.)*" We will give him the punishment he deserves; we will have his head cut off;" repeating the words "*head cut off*" several times, and saying, "We have already ordered that should he come there will be a short halter for him" (*Già havemo ordinato che venendo, li sia corta la capezza*); adding, "We have had too much patience; the processes have been drawn up; we shall send them to the Princes that the world may know that if we have not punished him, it was to prove how anxious we are for peace, as to avoid thwarting it we have put up with so much insolence from this man, whom we no longer hold to be ambas-

1556.

sador." Having expelled Don Rodrigo from his presence, the Pope said to a number of persons who were present to see him dine, "Do not suppose that we failed to have him beheaded from lack of heart, as would to God we had not too much of that; but we acted thus in order not to impede the negotiation for peace, as the truce made by them is neither good, true, nor durable. It is necessary to make a good, true, and durable peace, or to declare open war, and to wage it more briskly than ever." Then, perceiving the Count of Montorio, he said, "If one of you our nephews had done what that man did, we would have had you beheaded;" and the Count replied, "We should have deserved it."

D. Garcilasso [de la Vega] having subsequently gone daily to the Pope for audience in vain, being kept waiting in the antechamber from three to five hours, departed yesterday morning for Naples to see some of his relations, and will then return hither, hoping in the meanwhile to receive some order from his Princes as to what he is to do.

The ambassador [Marquis de Sarria], who until now had not written anything to the Imperial Court about the affair of the gate, and of the altercation with the Pope, nor yet of the maltreatment constantly received from his Holiness, on the evening before last sent a very minute account of the whole to the Emperor and the King of England, and was heard to say, "The Pontiff bears me ill-will, and is right, as thus does he repay the good offices performed by me in his favour with my Princes, which pains me more than the injuries received here, as they will suppose that I deceived them when representing him as a good and holy Pontiff, and anxious for the welfare of Christendom."

On the night of the day when the Pope uttered the aforesaid words, the guns of the castle and of the palace were shotted, and the Pope's guard was doubled, their harquebusses being loaded, and the men keeping with their fires (*ad ordine con li suoi fuoghi*); it having been also said that there was a talk of seizing all the ambassador's attendants.

Concerning the "Reform," I hear from persons who say they had it from the Pope's own lips, that his Holiness, perceiving the diversity of the votes given by the few first-class members of the commission,* and considering that the matter involved both much time and great variety of opinion, has well nigh determined to issue an edict according to his own opinion, which is that in no case, not even from such as give spontaneously, should it be allowable to accept any present, whether demanded or offered voluntarily, for spiritual advantages (*per uso delle cose spirituali*); and that his Holiness dwelt particularly on the dispensation of marriages, as prohibited by law, saying that not only did he choose similar dispensations no longer to be conceded, but also wished that such as had been granted hitherto should (so far as possible) be remedied; but I do not know how it can come to pass that those who are married should become single.

Rome, 18th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* See before, March 28.

1556.
April 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

460. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 13th instant Lord Paget arrived here, who had audience of the King of Spain immediately, and has returned to his Majesty every day, holding long conversations with him, and I understand that the chief object of his discourse was to inspire the King with that hope, on his return to England, of his being crowned, which has never yet been given him by the Queen his consort; and besides performing this office in her name, he of himself, as it were, proposed various means for adoption whereby to obtain the desired result, with the consent of those who can be induced to give it, and without risk from those who might choose to oppose the measure. He also communicated to him several things which it is necessary to do in that kingdom at present, and to provide for there, hereafter; representing to him in detail what has been extorted (*ritratto*) from the confessions of a part of the prisoners, and what had been said [spontaneously?] by some, that the insurrection (*motto*) which they purposed raising had for object to make Lord Courtenay their king, and that amongst these conspirators are ten persons of quality, against whom there are not sufficient proofs to warrant capital punishment, nor yet so few as to justify acquittal, especially by reason of what they might do subsequently, using most earnest language to induce his Majesty to go to England as soon as possible, both for his own benefit and to comfort the Queen, adding moreover that in like manner as he should not despair of her giving him heirs, so may he rest assured that there is no time to lose for his going thither, as she is not of an age to be able to delay any longer.

Lord Paget himself, whom I visited, told me the King had answered him, that ten or twelve days after the coming hither of the King of Bohemia he would certainly go to England postwise, and without proceeding to Spain return to the Emperor after having remained some weeks with the Queen. Subsequently Lord Paget had audience of the Emperor, to whom he presented letters of credence as ambassador, and after performing the office of congratulation on the establishment of the truce, repeated what he had said to the King about the causes which ought to induce his Majesty to return to his consort. He then asked counsel of the Emperor, in the Queen's name, concerning the mode in which the affairs of the religion in England could be regulated, as of one who might be able to know, by reason of the many troubles sustained by him on this account in Germany, it being seen that the numerous executions failed to bring back those sectarians (*quelle genti*) to Catholic opinions, as had been hoped. The Emperor received him very kindly, reciprocating the courteous offices performed in the Queen's name, but I have been unable to learn what he said to the demand about the religion; but with regard to his most serene son's departure for England, he said it could not take place so immediately, because, as he had heard, there was necessary cause for the coming of the King of Bohemia, who he thought would be here in the course of the month of May.

It is very evident from the language of the chief Spaniards of these two courts that neither the arguments adduced by Paget, nor the adroit means employed by him to make the King go to England

1556.

will take effect, unless he has a certain promise from the Queen that she will crown him, in virtue of such authority as it is said she might legally exercise, and with the support of those who may be dependent on their Majesties by reason of offices and benefits received from them. (*Si conosce dal parlar assai chiaro dei principali Spagnuoli di queste corti, che S. M. R., nè per le ragioni dette da Paget, nè per gli accorti modi ch' egli usa per farla andare in Inghilterra, ella non si moverà se dalla Regina non li viene data certezza che Lei sia per incoronarla con quella autorità che da se stessa, dicono, poter usar per le leggi, et col favore di quelli che dalle loro Maestà possono dipendere per officij, et beneficij havuti.*) The French ambassador uses all diligence to ascertain whether his Majesty will go to England or not; and according to news-letters which he says he has received from thence, he shows that the coronation may take place, and that Queen Maria of Hungary is the person who well nigh daily writes autograph letters on this subject to the Queen of England, exhorting her to put aside every consideration and her timidity, and to crown her husband, and assuring her that otherwise she will fail in what is due to herself and to right, and that consequently she will not have him (the King) with her.

It is said that Queen Maria acts thus by reason of the extreme desire she has to resume the Regency of Flanders, in which she cannot succeed unless the King depart hence. The said French ambassador negotiates every day about the release of the prisoners, and says he always finds fresh difficulties about the decision.

Their Majesties have despatched the Lieutenant d'Amont, appointed ambassador in ordinary to the most Christian King, with whom the chief personages of these courts are [now] as much satisfied for the honour done to M. de Lalain, who went for the establishment of the truce, as they were at first malcontent, owing to the delay in expediting him.

During the last few days the King has practised tilting with other noblemen in the park, with the intention subsequently of jousting in public, which was lately appointed for to-day, and his Majesty having said that it should be deferred until the arrival of the King of Bohemia, the lady at whose suit it was proclaimed informed Benavides, the challenger, that by allowing it to be deferred for so long a while, and also for a doubtful event, he will either prejudice his own honour or the love which he seems to bear her; so King Philip, moved by the prayers of the said challenger and of other gentlemen, has allowed them to hold it when they please, and all are ready for next Sunday.

The deputies of these States have not yet answered the King's demand for one per cent. on moveables, and two per cent. on immoveables, on which he insists, they considering it beyond their means; *so everybody murmurs greatly, the blame being laid on their governor the Duke of Savoy, who, at the suggestion of a Florentine, persuaded his Majesty to make so novel and injurious a demand.*

Brussels, 19th April 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.
April 21.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

461. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In addition to the precautions announced in my last of the 14th, which were taken for the Queen's security, by reason of the suspicion that the conspirators, besides plundering the Exchequer, had plotted against her royal person, and that she therefore still continued to have greater guard kept, and to live more secluded than usual, it has moreover been determined, lest during these summer months (which are considered more perilous than the others) any sudden rising should take place, to fit out a certain number of ships, which, although destined, as is said by Cardinal Pole, for Ireland, to quell the late disturbances there, lest they spread hither likewise, are nevertheless, as I hear, first of all to put into Portsmouth Harbour, near Hampton, and to anchor in other harbours towards the south-west (*Ponente Garbino*). This implies that they are for the purpose of yet more curbing and intimidating the population by these prompt and speedy precautionary measures in every direction against all ill-disposed persons.

Sir Anthony Kingston died last week of "stone," which seized him whilst on his way to prison here under escort, a more fortunate catastrophe for him than to have died a violent death, as would have been the case, for it seems that on examination he confessed to having been an accomplice in the conspiracy, which, as it is said clearly, had for object to kill not only the Queen, but all foreigners indiscriminately, so as for the future entirely to rid all aliens of any wish ever again to come to England. Sir Anthony Kingston's estates, however, will not be confiscated, he not having been, according to the statutes of the realm, "*indicted*" (such is the term in use here) publicly, it being the common custom to serve an "*indictment*" on any accused person.

The Lord Treasurer has returned from the Isle of Wight, after issuing there, and throughout the adjoining territory, such orders that at the slightest signal the entire population will be quick and ready to do the Queen good service; and his attendants say that neither on the island, nor still less in Hampshire, did they find anyone implicated in the plot or even suspected of having had a hand in it, everybody remaining in office and in trust. The Treasurer also made sure of Portsmouth, so that there is no fear of any commotion in those parts.

During the last three months a Spanish courier, by name Gamboa, has often gone to and fro between this and Brussels, he having also been sent off last evening by the president here, Figueroa, not without suspicion of some secret negotiation between him and the most Serene Queen; which doubt having induced me to investigate the matter, I have at length heard from a good quarter that they talk (ehe si tratta) of removing hence "Miladi" Elizabeth and taking her to Spain; nor was it chosen to tell me anything further (non mi essendo stato o voluto dir più oltre). Whether the project take effect or not, it will be solely for the sake of securing themselves against any disturbance which might arise on her account, the danger being more at hand and more certain in this quarter than in any

1556.

other, the affections and wishes of the majority already inclining towards her, owing to the small hope of descent from the most Serene Queen. As the negotiation, supposing it to be true, is kept very secret, it will be well for your Serenity to do the like, by enjoining, should it seem fit to you, such silence as the matter deserves.

The Queen of Scotland has sent to congratulate her Majesty on the conclusion of the truce, the King of France also having through his ambassador here given her account of the loving offices passed in the name of the Emperor and of her consort by the Count de Lalain with his most Christian Majesty.

The last summaries of your Serenity's letters, dated the 29th ult., have been communicated as usual to Cardinal Pole and the Lords of the Council.

London, 21st April 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

April 22.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

462. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Lord Clinton arrived here to-day with 36 posters, having been sent by the Queen of England as ambassador for the purpose, so far as is heard hitherto, of presenting congratulations on the conclusion of the truce, and again offering her Majesty as mediatrix for the peace between these Princes, but he has not yet had audience of his Majesty.

Blois, 22nd April 1556.

[Italian.]

April 25.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me.
Letter No. 74,
pp. 245, 246, 247.

463. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I hear from a person, who says he knows it for certain, that the Pope's familiars (*questi del Papa*) have some idea of causing the Imperial ambassador's servant, who accompanied his master outside the gate, to be hanged, and also that yesterday in the Treasury congregation the attorney-general (*il Fiscale*) proposed that as the Pope no longer acknowledged the Marquis of Sarria for ambassador, he should be made to pay the ordinary gabels, but the Treasury (*La Camera*) determined not to do so without the Pope's order. The legates are intent on getting themselves ready, most especially Cardinal Caraffa, who is incurring very great expense for himself and his retinue, for I hear that to each of the gentlemen who accompany him he has sent 21 yards of damask and 12 of velvet, having also provided himself with some of the finest in Rome as a present for the most Christian King. I understand that he has hitherto received 15,000 ducats, which have all been expended on the household and attendants he takes with him. Cardinal Motula has not yet received any money, neither has Commendone, who is to remain nuncio with the King of England, although he begins to make preparations, and in order to do so has sold one of the offices held by him.

1556.

Yesterday consistory was held, but the Pope did not give the cross to the legates because he says he chooses them to depart immediately on receiving it, according to the ancient rite.

Twelve renegades (*marani*) were burned lately at Ancona, and the others, 42 in number, have offered, should their lives be spared, besides their property, which amounts to 50,000 ducats, to give an additional 40,000, and are content to be sent to the galleys; so I understand that letters have been written to stay the executions until further orders; it being said that the report of the Turkish fleet's putting to sea in great force has caused this countermand, lest with this pretext it come to Ancona, and they regret having gone so far.

Rome, 25th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 26.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

464. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the renunciations of the States made heretofore by the Emperor to his son, he reserved for himself Burgundy, which he has now renounced to his Majesty, which at that time he did not choose to do, chiefly because being at war with the King of France, and the agreements between their Majesties stipulating the neutrality of the Burgundians (*et stando tra l'una et l'altra Maestà li capitoli che quei communi sudditi dovessero esser neutrali*), he could not treat the confirmation of the neutrality had the renunciation been made then.

Since this act, he says daily to all his familiars and to those who negotiate with him, that he shall leave for Spain this summer, and that he has given orders to Don Luis de Caravajal to prepare the fleet for this voyage; and six days ago he read with King Philip the rolls of the persons of his court whom he purposes leaving in the King's service, and of those to be dismissed, and whom he takes with him; and the Queens [Eleanor and Maria of Austria] again show signs of accompanying his Imperial Majesty as they did the last time. Finzino, the secretary for the German tongue, has said that before his departure we shall hear of the renunciation of the Empire, though few persons expect him to put this resolve into execution; but several are of opinion that he speaks thus for convenient respects of his own, *amongst which the principal one is because should King Philip have to go for his coronation to England, and meet with any impediment, the Emperor through his authority and by fitting out the armada (l'armata), may facilitate this design.*

The day before yesterday Lord Paget went to visit the French ambassador [Basse Fontaine], and in the course of conversation Paget told him he had been sent to congratulate the Emperor on the truce, his Queen having done the like by his most Christian Majesty. The Frenchman replied somewhat angrily that he knew him to have come nominally for that purpose, though the true cause was for the sake of inducing King Philip to go to England, by giving him sure hope that he should be crowned; and that he (Basse Fontaine) informed him (Paget) that should they purpose

1556.

doing this without the consent of the people of England, his most Christian Majesty, having named that kingdom in the capitulation [of the truce], would be compelled to favour it, in order that it should not be forced to do anything against its will (*et che li facera sapere, che trattandosi di far ciò senza la volontà di quelli del Regno, saria costretta S. M. Christ^{ma}, per esser da lei denominato esso Regno nella capitulatione, favorirlo, perchè egli non fosse astretto a far cosa contraria al voler suo*); and to this the English ambassador merely replied that he was come to perform the aforesaid office of congratulation.

Lord Paget, when visiting me yesterday, said King Philip had assured him that after the coming of King Maximilian, he would go to England at the beginning of June; and when Paget inquired what his Majesty would do in case the King of Bohemia did not come, he answered him that even in that case he would keep his promise, and depart postwise with a few attendants. Lord Paget, in the meanwhile, will go to the baths of Aix-la-Chapelle and inspect several towns in these provinces, returning hither in due time to accompany his Majesty.

The French ambassador has complained to the King of Spain of being unable to obtain any favourable decision from the Bishop of Arras about getting back his prisoners, and said that this being done contrary to the promises given heretofore by his Majesty's commissioners, he demanded justice from him; and that his most Christian Majesty had this matter so much at heart, because it was principally on account of these prisoners that he made the truce, in order to prove to those who risked their lives, and to as many other gentlemen as may do so, that his Majesty has the same care of them as for his own welfare; praying King Philip most earnestly to have this carried into effect, saying that otherwise he did not know how the truce could last, and that his King would stand acquitted before the world. The King replied that this matter being one between private individuals, the resolve must necessarily proceed from them, and that for the sake of justice, and for the maintenance of the truce, he would not fail doing the best he could; and told him kindly that after the arrival of M. de Lalain it would be more easy to despatch this business.

The Pope has taken it amiss that they should not have sent him a special envoy to announce the oath taken to the truce, but nevertheless, in order not to fail performing such offices as appertain to the head of Christendom, he had chosen to appoint legates to their Majesties and to the most Christian King to negotiate the peace, *but the chief ministers of these courts say openly that the appointment of Cardinal Caraffa to France makes them suspect that it may be for the purpose of negotiating matters to break the truce rather than to make the peace.*

The son of the Count di Populi [de Pepoli?] has departed, after kissing the Emperor's and the King's hands, without having been able to obtain either the title of duke or the 5,000 crowns annual revenue, nor the other things demanded by him for his services, he having deserted the Pope. He was answered courteously, that when the opportunity offered the King would not fail him. The

1556.

ambassadors from Nuremberg have also departed, having been much honoured by their Majesties, with whom they performed most humble offices, making loving offers in case of need.

The deputies of these provinces arrived last evening to answer the King's demand for the one per cent. on immoveables and two per cent. on moveables; and it is understood they are commissioned not to consent to it, but to promise him as much as a million of crowns, and even half as much more, rather than ever condescend to such a demand.

Three days ago Don Ruy Gomez went to Antwerp to contract an exchange (*un cambio*) of 400,000 crowns, to pay the officials of the two courts, those of the Emperor being creditors for 22 arrears of salary (22 *paghe*), and the King's for 12; well-nigh the whole of which sum will be expended for this purpose; and he will endeavour to raise another of 200,000 (both to be paid in Spain), to satisfy the cavalry and infantry on these frontiers.

Before his departure a joust was held in the park, the chief on one side being the King, and on the other the said Don Ruy Gomez. The jousts were seven on each side, making their appearance with very handsome liveries, and the King chose those on his side to be of various nations, having selected the Spaniards Don Antonio de Toledo, Don Rodrigo de Benavides, and Don Luis de Caravajal, the Flemish Count d'Egmont, the German Count Schwartzburg, and the Italian Marquis d'Hirazzi (*sic*). Those on the side of Don Ruy Gomez were all Spaniards, and the judges were the Duke of Medina Celi, the Prince of Orange, and Don Juan Manrique. The King's side was the most commended, principally for the fine strokes made by Count d'Egmont, and they will also joust this evening and to-morrow.

Brussels, 26th April 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 28.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

465. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Ruy Gomez returned from Antwerp, having contracted for the exchanges of the 600,000 crowns to be disbursed in Spain at the rate of 23 per cent. interest, and in four or six days the officials of the courts of the Emperor and the King will receive their salaries.

The Bishop of Arras announces that the Emperor this day commissioned M. de la Chaux to send cogent orders to Holland for preparation of the ships required for his voyage to Spain, having declared that in the course of May he will quit Brussels and go to Ghent, remaining there until all he requires is ready; and to-day the Queens have left for Tournai, where they say they shall arrange all their affairs and then return, in order to depart with the Emperor. The Emperor's chief butler, M. de la Chaux, says he has been desired to go to Burgundy to take possession of that county (*contea*) in the name of King Philip, and will depart speedily; and having asked the Emperor's leave to remain a month with his relations after performance of this office, his Majesty allowed him but

1556

eight days. But when he was asked by a friend (as he is a very free-spoken nobleman) whether the Emperor's departure would take place so immediately, he answered yes, adding coldly, that some accident, as on a former occasion, might make him change his mind. Concerning this resolve, and with regard to his going so immediately as his Majesty says, discourse varies; some say he will go thither (to Ghent) to carry into effect this his firm design, and especially now as by letters from M. de Lalain, and from other signs, he strongly suspects the King of France of not observing the truce and of favouring the affairs [of the Moors?] in Africa; and he is supposed to circulate this report for other personal respects, especially to enable him by keeping an armada in readiness to facilitate the coronation in England of his son, whose journey to England continues also to be reported, as there is but little hope of the coming of the King of Bohemia.

Should the Emperor depart and not choose to be followed by the ambassadors, I shall remain with the King until the arrival of the ambassador Surian; and on the King's subsequent departure for England, after accompanying him as far as Calais, I will return home, as I am most anxious to do, that I may more conveniently remedy my disease of the "stone," than I can do here.

Brussels, 28th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

April 28.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

466. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Of the prisoners brought to the bar only two of the ringleaders were convicted,* there not having been then time for the others, who will be despatched in due course (*di mano in mano*), it having been told me that they are all to be judged this week.

Of the two above mentioned, one is of the Throckmorton family, a gentleman (*nobile*), and a person who, although suspected with regard to religion, yet nevertheless, considering his age, which does not amount to 28 years, has the reputation of being a man of spirit and ability, and was a long while in Italy and at Venice. He most stoutly persisted in denying all the charges brought against him, although he was convicted on the evidence of the conspirators themselves† in his own presence, they being brought face to face with each other. He defended himself with great boldness and eloquence, hoping that the twelve jurymen would not so easily agree to convict him as they did, but after being sentenced he became of another mind, humbly imploring pardon, and beginning freely to confess his crimes.

The other is a man called Wdal (*sic*), keeper of one of the fortresses in the Isle of Wight, where he was to receive the conspirators.

They were sentenced and declared traitors, being consequently

* John Throckmorton and Thomas Uvedale, *alias* Wodall, were arraigned at the Sessions House in Southwark, on the 21st April 1556. (See Machyn's Diary, p. 104, and Verney Papers, p. 70.)

† "The accusars" [were] "Master Bedyll and Master Dethyke." (See Machyn, as above.)

1556.

condemned to die, according to the letter of the law, in conformity with which they were both executed this morning, having been first drawn at the horse's tail (*lirati a coda di cavallo*) through the city to the public place of execution, and then hanged, but not let die entirely, for the rope being cut and the bodies taken down from the gibbet instantaneously, they being thus alive, their middles were cut open and their entrails taken out and thrown on the fire prepared at the foot of the gallows, after which they were quartered in four quarters (*da poi squartati in quattro quarti*), which will be placed with their heads on the city gates.

They died a Christian death, having confessed and communicated.

The execution was put off for four more days, because Throckmorton gave signs of discovering other particulars and other persons, but this is believed to have been rather for the sake of gaining time than from his having made any communication of importance.

I am told that the business and understanding which the conspirators had with the most Christian King were by means of one Bertoville, who, having been outlawed from France a long while ago, withdrew to this country, where he was pensioned, and lately, perhaps for this purpose, returned into favour with the King and crossed over to France, and being very well acquainted with English affairs, and known for a turbulent soldier, all men of his profession here considered him admirably adapted (attissimo) not only to take part as mediator in such a matter, but to conduct it. It is also told me that Throckmorton had an understanding with him, and moreover spoke with the French ambassador here, which he had at first denied, and that they had been conceded a castle in Normandy as a retreat in which to coin false money, in order perhaps thus to increase the sum to be robbed from the Exchequer, so as more largely to provide for their projects.

The courier Gamboa returned from beyond sea immediately, having performed the journey to and fro in six days, and scarcely had he arrived here ere the Queen despatched Francesco Piamontese, an indication of business and negotiations extraordinary; so it is no wonder that here they should not be understood, as they are transacted solely through the medium of one or two of the Queen's chief confidants, her Majesty not unbosoming herself (non allargandosi) to the others. From Brussels (di là) you may perhaps receive some hint about what was told me lately with regard to the removal hence of Miladi Elizabeth, although there has been vigorous (gagliardo) debate and opposition, by reason of the stir it might create. It has nevertheless been told me that the matter is urged (sollicitata) and earnestly canvassed (procurata) by the Queen in person, who conceives that by removing her (Elizabeth) bodily from hence (che levandosi la persona di costei di quà), there will be a riddance of all the causes for scandal and disturbances, she (I understand) having said plainly that she will not marry, even were they to give her the King's son, or find any other greater Prince. I again respectfully remind your Serenity to enjoin secrecy about this.*

* Don Carlos, then in his eleventh year.

1556.

*I have heard, according to intelligence received by the Queen, that the Earl of Devonshire was invited and called to Ferrara by the Duke solely for the purpose of tempting and persuading him to withdraw to France and adhere to his most Christian Majesty (et appoggiarsi al servizio del Re), promising him honourable provision, and he has been considered sage, for not having inclined or given ear to any of the offers made him.**

The King's letters confirm the assurance that his coming hither will be delayed by the visit to Brussels of the King of Bohemia, solely during the first days of the interview, his Majesty evincing greater wish to return than usual, and for the need of the Queen, please God it may be so.

London, 28th April 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pusini.]

May 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

467. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Lord Clinton has had audience of the King, whom he congratulated in the name of the Queen of England on the truce, and then offered all her power as mediatrix for the peace between the Emperor and his son, and his most Christian Majesty, who replied in gracious and becoming language, and with regard to treating about peace, said that as hitherto he had not failed to draw nigh to it (*accostarsi*), so would he do for the future, and should always be glad of her Majesty's mediation, for whose sake he would not fail to do much more than for any other mediator. I will not omit to mention the assurance given me on good authority, that, although his most Christian Majesty will not refuse such fair terms of peace as shall be proposed to him, yet will he not enter upon any negotiation until the release of the prisoners be settled, about whom, as the Imperial ambassador appointed to this court is expected here to-morrow, some further decision will be formed than has been made hitherto.

At a subsequent audience, Lord Clinton told the King that his Queen knew that the security enjoyed in this kingdom by her rebels encouraged others to meditate fresh disturbances, wherefore it would be well for him to make some demonstration against them, and by so much the more as in the agreement between these two kingdoms the rebels of the one were not to be secure in the other. To this the King answered him that his kingdom was so large and free to every one, that he could not know so particularly either who entered it, nor who went out of it, but that he heard with regret of the commotions in England; *notwithstanding* which since several days, there are several Englishmen here at the court, who were subsequently outlawed from England (*li qual poi sono*

* In the Domestic Calendar, pp. 76, 77, it is seen that Edward Courtenay left Venice for Ferrara on the 21st March 1556, and remained there four or five days. The words of the deciphered paragraph are: "Ha saputo (come intendo) la Serenissima Regina che non per altro fu invitato il Conte di Danzier, et chiamato a Ferrara, che per haver tentato quel Duca di persuaderlo a ritirarsi in Franza et appoggiarsi al servizio del Re, promettendoli honorato intrattenimento; et è stato riputato savio, non havendo inclinato, nè dato orecchia ad alcuna offerta che li fusse fatta."

1556.

stati banditi d' Inghilterra), *and are said to have come to ask favour from his most Christian Majesty.** The said Lord Clinton departed on the day before yesterday, the King having given him a chain worth a thousand crowns; nor did I omit to visit him in your Serenity's name, I myself having also known him very well, and I performed such office with him as the occasion required.

Advices from Rome announce the Pope's resolve to send Legates to the Emperor and to his most serene son, and also to his most Christian Majesty, to negotiate the peace, and that Cardinal Caraffa will come hither.

Blois, 1st May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1 May.
Original
Letter Book
penes me.
Letter No. 75,
pp. 251, 252.

468. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome.
to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, after he had dined, the Pope came into the audience chamber, where I was with the Count of Montorio; his Holiness said, "We have commissioned our Legates to negotiate our cause, no less than that of the most serene Republic, and even more, for we require nothing whatever from those Princes and the others, whom we choose to have as our subjects and not *for equals.*† We choose the legates to go, although the negotiation for peace is not so far advanced as was thought, that they may ascertain what the Powers think of doing, and we shall know how to regulate ourselves. You have seen how, with God's assistance, we have placed these Imperialists at a distance, and humbled their pride. We have the heart to punish both of them should they give us cause. The King of France is an obedient son, and when we have occasionally denied his requests he took it quietly and obeyed us. The Emperor on the other hand chose to stand upon his grandeur, so we were compelled to show our teeth, for the honour of this Holy See and of Italy; we will never fail to do our duty, even at the cost of our life; because this charge having been given us by the goodness of God, it is necessary that there be done by us what we heretofore urged our predecessors to do, nor do we fear any lack of men or money. You have seen our fine infantry and cavalry, and you must know that we can very easily muster 20,000 foot, by means of our good regulations, and those of our nephews." And here he dilated in praise of them, saying he was sorry to deprive himself of the Cardinal, to which I replied that the Cardinal was able, prudent, and good, but that the Count remained with him, so that he might say, "*uno evulso non deficit alter aureus.*" The Pope rejoined, "We consider them such, and were they of another sort, even if our sons and not our nephews, we would kick them out of doors," to use his Holiness' own words, as I endeavour to do always.‡

* See also Foreign Calendar, 1555-1558, entry No. 496, April 12, 1556, p. 222.

† Volendo loro et gli altri per sudditi et non per compagni.

‡ Et se fussero d'altra sorte, quando ne fussero figlioli non che nipoti li scacciaressimo da noi con li calzi; per dir le proprie parole di sua Santità come mi sforzo di fare sempre.

1556.

The Count seemed very much pleased with this conversation, to which the Pope added, "To return to the affair of the peace, we have not much hope, unless the necessity which led them to make the truce lead them to make peace, for they made the truce under compulsion, we by our rigour inducing them to do so; wherefore it is not to be wondered at, should they continue it, for according to physicians *quæ approssinata jurant continuata sanant*. We think they wish for peace, but neither of them will be the first to ask it. A mediator is required, and who could be a more fitting one than us, who are their father and lord? We will tell you the causes which move us to send the Legates, in order that if those most sage lords should not think it well to do so, they may give us counsel, as we will listen to it willingly, and if good (as we choose to believe) we will accept it, as in truth we have always allowed ourselves to be moved by reason, and on hearing an opinion better than our own we have followed it joyfully, nor did we act like some persons, who, when they have lost their opinion, go to supper with a bad appetite."

Rome, 1st May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 2.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me.
Letter No. 78,
pp. 256-259.

469. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Tournon has received letters from France dated the 12th ulto. that the truce continued with marks of great good will on the part of the kings, so it may be expected to last the whole of the time, and that at this commencement it was undesirable to make any alteration by means of peace. He also says that the French noblemen who kissed the Emperor's hand found his frame very wasted and in a bad way; but that his mind was in a very good state, and that the inquiries which he made of them and his replies were most discreet. These letters, and others from the Imperial court dated the 12th and 19th, which do not speak of the peace, have caused the Pope to delay the despatch of the Legates; and a great personage writes in cipher from France that the Constable took it amiss that the Admiral did not greatly resent the Emperor's reply to him when he said that then it was not the time to release the prisoners, the intention being to assign their ransom at the end of three months, but not to release them; and that the Constable exclaimed that this might cause the rupture of the truce. The Duke of Ferrara has been angry by reason of the non-performance of the promise made him, but the matter was subsequently adjusted; the Imperialists consider that the Duke has an understanding with the King of France, stipulated by the Cardinal of Lorraine.

The Imperial ambassador, perceiving the Pope's firm resolve no longer to negotiate with him, has determined to send to the court [at Brussels] his brother Don Rodrigo, who departed at a late hour yesterday; and by reason of the favour which, as a Portuguese, he (the ambassador) enjoys with Don Ruy Gomez, he will do whatever he pleases at that court, and if removed hence he will be given some honorable appointment; nor will they, perhaps, give him any successor of rank.

1556.

The court here doubts greatly whether either of the Legates will go on their legation; but I refer myself to what the Pope told me with his own lips; the Count of Montorio having also told me that his brother would depart on the 11th instant. Some persons moreover say that Cardinal Caraffa will go alone, first to France, and then to the Emperor, to avoid sending another person so much his inferior in every respect, with the suspicion of his not being admitted. What I can say is, that Cardinal Caraffa is quite ready, in very pompous array; and that Motula (I do not yet call him Pisa) has not received so much as one single ducat, although he has provided what is required for his journey on his own account, to the value of about 3000 crowns.

To-day, an accident occurred which may increase the Pope's anger against the Imperial ambassador. The catch-poles arrested a poor man in front of his house, whereupon some of Marquis Sarria's attendants released him. The catch-poles reinforced themselves, and, laying in wait for some of his household, seized five of them when they came forth, although none of them had been present at the rescue, which has greatly troubled the ambassador and his friends.

Rome, 2nd May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 3.

470. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

The Abbot of San Saluto, of whom Pole has availed himself during many years much to his satisfaction, for the public service, and lately in the affair of the peace, is returning now to Rome, and Pole thinks it fitting to give this testimonial of him to the Pope, kissing his Holiness' feet. The Abbot will give the Pope, should he please, more particular account of that matter, and Pole has charged him also, should he meet Cardinal Caraffa on the road, to do the like by his lordship. It remains for him to beseech the Pope to be gracious to Parpaglia and to favour him in whatever he may require, shewing that he has valued the services rendered by him in Pole's company to his Holiness and the Apostolic See.

London, 3rd May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 3? *

471. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Has thought it opportune to send the decrees passed here [in the synod] to the Pope by their [confidant] Messer Marianno Vittorio, who will be able to give detailed account of them, and of whatever else may be necessary, to his Holiness, communicating everything in the first place to Morone, that he may be guided by his loving and prudent advice in everything. Of Vittorio himself Pole will say nothing farther, being aware that Morone knows him very well, and by reason of his goodness and virtue loves and esteems him, as Pole has done always.

[London, 3rd May 1556?]

[*Italian.*]

* No date of time or place in MS.

1556.

May 3? *

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

472. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CARLO] CARAFFA.

By his attendant Messer Marianno Vittorio, the bearer of this letter, is sending to the Pope the decrees passed in the synod, and particular information about what relates to the affairs of the religion in England, with which he is well acquainted, and as Pole is writing to the Pope on the subject, it is unnecessary for him to say more about it to Caraffa.

[From London, 3rd May 1556?]

[*Italian.*]

May 3.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
pp. 168-174.

473. MARCO ANTONIO FAITTA† to IPPOLITO CHIZZOLA Doctor in Divinity.‡

Through the return to Italy of "our" Messer Michiel§ I give detailed account of events here, and of the well being of his most illustrious and right reverend Lordship [Pole], our common master, who was ordained a presbyter on the 20th of last [March] and consecrated on the 22nd, with the intention of making his entry into Canterbury, and receiving the *pallium* in the cathedral there, on the feast of the Annunciation; but for certain reasons this proposed intention not seeming fit to the most serene Queen, his right reverend Lordship determined to take it in London in one of the principal churches of his diocese; so on Lady-day (*il di della Annunciata*) [25th March], being accompanied by many lords and barons, and by some members of the Council, he went to a church called St. Mary of the Arches, where shortly after his entry its parishioners presented him with a paper praying that his right reverend Lordship would deign to commence (*si contentasse di cominciar*) by giving some spiritual food to those souls which God had committed to his charge; wherefore on the conclusion of the ceremonies, and after receiving the *pallium*, thus unprepared, his right reverend Lordship determined to salute his congregation briefly, as follows:—

"On my present coming into this church for the purpose which I had given orders to have explained to you, by means of a sermon to be delivered by a person learned and from long experience very suited to his office, its parishioners presented me with a paper praying me with great earnestness and affection to perform this act in person, and to commence by tendering spiritual food to those souls committed to my care. I have not only resolved not to deny a demand so just, but have even derived the greatest consolation thence, remembering that in the whole course of my life none of my actions have ever yielded me greater satisfaction than such as

* No date of time or place in MS.

† Marco Antonio Faitta was the secretary of Cardinal Pole, as appears by his signature to his master's will, which he witnessed and sealed at Lambeth on the 4th of October 1558.

‡ Ippolito Chizzola, a native of Brescia, although he confuted Vergerio, and wrote treatises in defence of the Roman Catholic Church, was accused at Rome of preaching sermons in Venice tainted with Lutheranism; a fact worthy of record, as his correspondence with Cardinal Pole's secretary affords indirect proof of the liberal sentiments prevalent in the household of the last Roman Catholic Primate of England.

§ Probably some kins-man of the Ambassador Giovanni Michiel.

1556.

tended to the honour and glory of God, to which His Divine Majesty vouchsafed to call me, in like manner as on this present occasion, by feeding the souls of those committed to my charge; amongst whom there may perhaps be some who will listen to me rather from curiosity, or to comment on what I say, and to such I shall observe that any other learned and elegant scholar might satisfy them vastly better than I can (*qualunque altro dotto et elegante homo potrà di gran longo meglio de me soddisfar*). But there may also be some who will listen to me for the mere fame (*per mera fama*) of the Word of God, and these I am ready to satisfy, nor will I ever suffer that from any defect of mine there be applied to me those words of holy writ concerning the people of Israel—

‘Parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui eis frangeret.’*

Neither will I imitate those masters who, eating white bread, give black and unsifted to their servants. I shall give to you the same that I myself am used to eat, and this bread is nothing but the Word of God, which, received in the form and sense wherein it is offered, produces miraculous effects, and bears the fruit of life for him who embraces it, and, as it is written—

‘Tamquam imber qui descendet de celo, et illuc ultra non revertitur, sed inebriat terram et infundit eam, et germinare eam facit.’†

Alluding then to the cause of his coming he said,—

“You must know that the cause of my coming to England was induced by my having been appointed Legate many months since, by the holiness of the Pope, who is Christ’s vicar, and the supreme head of His church upon earth, for the sake of reconciling this kingdom to God, from whom it had so miserably severed itself, like a limb from its head, and to bring it back to the unity of the church and to the obedience of the Apostolic See (*et ridurlo alla unità della chiesa et obedientia della Sede Apostolica*). At present I am again sent as Legate to this church of Canterbury in particular, and to all those dependent on its diocese. As this is the first time of my entering any church subject to my care, I imagine that you will not expect of me any other sermon or discourse, since I merely came to take the archiepiscopal *pallium*, which I purposed receiving in the principal church of my diocese, and gave orders accordingly, but being prevented on several accounts I was compelled to receive the investiture here, and as on the first entry of anyone into any place it is usual to salute the bystanders, so also shall I do, saluting you in the manner taught by Jesus Christ to his apostles, to whom he said—

‘In quacunque domum intraveritis, dicite, Pax huic domui.’

And thus saluting you with all affection and charity I say to you peace be unto you, peace to ye men and women, peace to ye old and young, and to every description of person here present be there

* “The young children ask bread and no man breaketh it unto them.” (Lamentations iv.)

† “And I will cause the shower to come down in his season; there shall be showers of blessing.” (Ezekiel xxxiv., 26. Oxford edition, 1859.)

1556.

peace. Christ taught this form of salutation to his apostles, in order that into whatever house they entered they might give it that peace (*accid che in ciascuna casa che entrassero li dessero deta pace*), and finding therein the children of peace, peace might rest thereon. And so likewise here, should there be the children of peace, the peace of God, in which consists all the happiness that man can desire or imagine, will remain with them, and this is that peace which not only gives quiet to man on earth, but, moreover, ineffable joy to the angels in heaven, who, manifesting to the world the counsel of God and the approach of peace (*essi manifestandosi il consiglio di Dio et approssimandosi la pace al mondo*), that is to say, Jesus Christ the blessed, commenced singing with so much joy and rejoicing (*con tanta gioia e giubilo*)—

‘Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.’

Proceeding then to explain the ceremony and signification of the *pallium*, he said that—

“So long ago as in the time of the primitive church, when any one was consecrated as archbishop, by which consecration a power was conferred of such a nature as to be supreme after that of Christ’s vicar on earth, yet it was not lawful to exercise such power until after having received this *pallium*, which being taken from the body of St. Peter and placed on the archbishop elect, merely signified that as his power and authority proceeded from that body, so likewise in all his actions he was bound to render a corresponding obedience, like that of members to their head. Thus our holy mother church, ever guided by the Holy Spirit, ordained this ceremony, lest the archbishops, having such great authority and detaching themselves from their head, might cause much turmoil and disorder in the church, instead of acknowledging this power as held neither of themselves nor of others, but solely of Christ’s vicar, who is the Roman Pontiff, so that by this regulation (*questo ordine*) the unity of the church might be preserved for ever. And though in bygone times it was greatly disturbed by certain archbishops and patriarchs, it has nevertheless been seen for a notable example that those who acted thus, together with the countries committed to their government, have been by God most severely punished, as were the patriarchs of Constantinople and of Alexandria, who, having strayed and separated themselves from this unity, passed by the just judgment of God under the cruel tyranny and insupportable yoke of the Turks, under which they exist so miserably for so long a while, as is notorious to everybody. The Archbishop of Ravenna in like manner of yore greatly opposed this unity, but at length perceiving his error was reconciled to and rejoined this head. Thus then an archbishop cannot exercise the power given him by the act of consecration until he receive authority to do so by means of this *pallium*, taken as I have said from the body of St. Peter, and transmitted to him by Christ’s vicar.

“They are now-a-days made of lambs’ wool, the *pallia* being consecrated by placing them near the body of St. Peter, and they are afterwards forwarded to such as have been consecrated as arch-

1556.

bishops. They are made of this lowly material as a contrast to the rich ornaments of gold and jewels usually worn by archbishops, and in the form of a cross, to let them understand that all the power and authority given them by Christ's vicar proceeds and is derived from the source of that immaculate Lamb (*dal fonte di quell' immacolato Agnello*), of which is written in the Apocalypse—

'Dignus est Agnus qui occisus est accipere virtutem et honorem et gloriam.'

"The archbishops then, being invested with this *pallium* made of the wool of lambs and in the form of a cross, ought at the same time to array themselves in humility, in charity, and in patience, and take up the cross, and be ever ready in need, to peril their own lives for the salvation of their flocks, and by all their actions pray that immaculate Lamb,

'In quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiæ Dei absconditi,'

for the gift of prudence and of good government, both of themselves and of those committed to their care."

And here his right reverend Lordship returned again to his comments on peace, which he said it was impossible for anyone ever utterly to explain or understand, comparing it to the hidden manna,

"Quod nemo scit, nisi qui accipit,"

and in which alone he said consisted true human felicity; and he added—

"Think not either that the science of philosophers, or the wealth of the rich, or the honours and pleasures of the great, form this their peace and true felicity, as was clearly seen by the example of Solomon, he being so favoured of God, of whom he asked, to enable him to rule his people rightly (*per poter ben governar il suo popolo*), the gift of wisdom and the power to discern the truth when giving his judgments, all which was conceded to him by God, who moreover in addition gave him greater riches than had ever been possessed by any other king. Besides this, Solomon tasted all the greatest pleasures that man can enjoy in this world, and yet at the end he said openly that all was but vanity and vexation of spirit."

His right reverend Lordship then continued, that so far were philosophers from obtaining peace of any sort from human science, that he qualified their occupations as the worst possible, adding that true peace and felicity consisted in the fear of God and in the execution of His holy commandments, and that this peace therefore resembled neither that of science nor of any other sort of ability (*o altra sorte di virtu*), or that of honour, or of riches, or of pleasure, of which poor men and those of low estate cannot partake. This peace is common as well to the ignorant and unlearned as to the sage and skilful, to the poor as to the rich, to the ignoble as to the noble, to man as to woman, to youth as to age, and to every condition of person, provided it be received with simplicity when offered. Neither is any labour required for its search, peace itself having spontaneously descended from Heaven (*essendo da se stessa venuta la pace*), namely Jesus Christ the blessed, to die and sacrifice himself for our sins and to free us from eternal war, giving us

1556.

true peace, which is Himself; wherefore we ought spontaneously and heartily (*da se et con tutto il cuore*) to embrace Christ our Saviour, and who is our true peace, and not show ourselves slow (*et non ci rendiamo difficili*) to receive so great a benefit offered by the divine mercy, lest there be said of us those words uttered by Christ concerning Jerusalem when drawing nigh to and weeping over the city, he said—

‘*Si cognovisses quæ tibi ad pacem sunt, nunc autem abscondita sunt ab oculis tuis.*’

And thus (exclaimed he) say I to you, would ye but know the great grace God grants you by the mission of this peace.” On uttering which words his right reverend Lordship could not restrain his tears; and after using that expression, “would ye but know,” he staid himself for a moment, and then adding, “what God grants you,” remained silent for a short while, his eyes being suffused with tears. Then after a little he continued in a low tone, “You know what has passed, I pray you guard against the future;” and those words “*si cognovisses*” he pronounced with such effect and tenderness that not one of his congregation remained unmoved.

His right reverend Lordship after a few moments then resumed, “This peace then, which I am come to offer you on the part of God, must be received by those who wish for its enjoyment with great humility, as did on this day the glorious Virgin, who, when the angel announced peace to her in these words—

‘*Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum,*’

although she was afraid and quite astounded (*così smarisse tutta*), did not fail to receive the said message with all humility; and not at all doubting thereof, but merely wishing to be well informed of God’s will for its better execution, she inquired—

‘*Quomodo fiet istud, quoniam virum non cognosco?*’

as if she would fain know whether she were to do that naturally or supernaturally (*se dovesse far ciò naturalmente o sopra naturalmente*), since naturally she could not conceive not having had connexion with man. Whereupon the angel answered her—

‘*Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi;*’

and hence comprehending immediately that the Holy Ghost would be the author of so miraculous a conception, she replied—

‘*Ecce ancilla Domini! fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum.*’

And here it must be considered that she did not doubt the fact (*chè non dubitò della cosa*), but being anxious to obey the will of God inquired concerning the mode, neither would she be curious and say, “How can the Holy Ghost effect this?” nor in fine would she constitute herself the judge of the word of God as did the first woman, who, being invited by the serpent to contemplate the beauty of the apple, commenced judging God’s commandment, causing thus her own fall from so great happiness into such an abyss of misery. For the reparation of such presumptuous pride no less an antidote was required than this simple humility of the glorious Virgin, who did not like Eve make herself the judge of the

1556.

word of God, but, meekly venerating it, believed in the omnipotence of the Holy Ghost, and thus through the great humility of her *quam Deus respexit*, the world obtained that grace and peace which the first woman lost through her pride and temerity."

His right reverend Lordship then continued that the holy writ afforded examples of three persons to whom God had spoken through His angel announcing to them great joy. The first was that of Gideon, to whom the angel said, "Dominus tecum, virorum fortissime,"* whereupon he was all dismayed (*si smarrì tutto*) and greatly feared to die, because after the sin of the first man, to whom the angel of God spoke as commanded by the Lord, forbidding him to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil under pain of death, so Adam, having disobeyed and hearing the approach of God from a distance, thought to flee and hide himself lest he should give him death, wherefore from that time forth all to whom the Lord spoke feared death, as did Gideon likewise, to whom although the angel said afterwards, "Fear not, Gideon, thou shalt not die, but wilt free the people of Israel from the hands of their enemies" (*"Non dubitar, Gideone, tu non morirai, ma libererai il popolo de Isdrael (sic) dalle mani de suoi nemici, parve non dimeno che dovesse esser impossibile per esser egli di decrepita età et la moglie sua sterile et vecchissima finchè non hebbe un segno, in pena della quale sua incredulità non potè parlar mai, finchè il figliolo fosse portato al tempio"*), yet did this seem impossible to him on account of his decrepid age, and because his wife was barren and very old indeed, nor could he believe until he received a sign, and as the penalty of this his incredulity he remained speechless until his son was carried to the temple.

"The third instance was that of the most glorious Virgin, who without any doubt at all and with the utmost humility received the peace offered to her, and by imitating her you also, to whom as to her the first sound of the word of God may appear strange as proposing matters (*che propone cose*) repugnant to the flesh and to the human understanding, yet by receiving it in simplicity and humility, as did on this day the blessed Virgin, it will lead you to a peace truly blessed, and which will render you the children of God; and as Christ said to his apostles—

'Beati pacifici, quoniam ipsi filii Dei vocabuntur;'

the which peace will quiet your hearts, illumine (*rischiarare*) your minds, and cause you to despise the vain and transitory affairs of this world, making you journey in the way of the Lord, possessing in yourselves the light of life eternal; and when listening to the word of God should you perchance ever doubt of any point you should ask its explanation with all humility, as did the glorious Virgin, and not with a disposition to judge the word of God as it was judged by Eve, interpreting it according to your own sense, but rather that by knowing the will of God you may be better enabled to execute it; and to whom will you apply for this information? surely to none others than to those whom God has appointed

* "The Lord is with thee, thou mighty man of valour." (Judges vi. 12.)

1556.

through his spouse the church, with which will ever remain till the end of time, namely, to your curates and ordinaries* (*curati et ordinarii*), and immediately on hearing in what sense you ought to take it conformably to the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church, then ought you to be ready to execute what you know to be the will of God in like manner as did the glorious Virgin, who said—

‘Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum;’

and do you thus make a sacrifice of your hearts to God and be ready to keep His holy commandments, and then He will come to you, and dwell with you, bringing you the true internal peace, together with the treasure of His wisdom, giving you in this world extreme happiness, and in the other, life and peace eternal, which may God grant to all, for ever and ever. Amen.”

But I confess to you honestly, and in all truth, that the greater the grace with which his right reverend Lordship delivered this brief sermon thus unprepared, by so much the less is that with which I have described it, omitting moreover many things which I did not write down at the moment, because I was unable to follow so rapidly as he preached.

On the conclusion of the sermon his right reverend Lordship went to dine with the Earl of Pembroke, this being the first time he has eaten abroad, and the said Earl treated him very honourably.

The sermon, although simple and made on a sudden, gave much pleasure notwithstanding, and we have heard since, that it bore good fruit during the holy week. We then returned to the court, where during all this Lent six or eight priests have preached so well and learnedly, and with such piety, that I can say with truth that I never heard better in all my life; and on Holy Thursday,† at three o'clock in the afternoon, the most Serene Queen performed the ceremony of the feet-washing, thus:—

Her Majesty being accompanied by the right reverend Legate and by the Council, entered a large hall, at the head of which was my Lord Bishop of Ely as Dean (*come Decano*) of the Queen's chaplains, with the choristers of her Majesty's chapel. Around this hall on either side there were seated on certain benches, with their feet on stools, many poor women, to the number of forty and one, such being the number of the years of the most Serene Queen. Then one of the menials of the Court having washed the right foot of each of these poor persons, and this function being also next performed by the Under Almoner, and also by the Grand Almoner, who is the Bishop of Chichester, her Majesty next commenced the ceremony in the following manner:—At the entrance of the hall there was a great number of the chief dames and noble ladies of the court, and they prepared themselves by putting on a long linen apron which reached the ground, and round their necks they placed a towel, the two ends of which remained pendant at full length‡ on either side, each of them carrying a silver ewer, and

* “Ordinary, n. s., established judge of ecclesiastical causes.” (*See Johnson's Dictionary.*)

† Videlicet on the 3rd of April, as in 1556 Easter Sunday was on the 6th April.

‡ Et si missero intorno al collo uno asciugatoio che pendeva giù dalle due parti quant'era lungo.

1556.

they had flowers in their hands, the Queen also being arrayed in like manner. Her Majesty knelt down on both her knees before the first of the poor women, and taking in the left hand the woman's right foot, she washed it with her own right hand, drying it very thoroughly with the towel which hung at her neck, and having signed it with the cross she kissed the foot so fervently that it seemed as if she were embracing something very precious. She did the like by all and each of the other poor women, one by one, each of the ladies her attendants giving her in turn their basin and ewer and towel; and I vow to you that in all her movements and gestures, and by her manner, she seemed to act thus not merely out of ceremony, but from great feeling and devotion. Amongst these demonstrations there was this one remarkable, that in washing the feet she went the whole length of that long hall, from one end to the other, ever on her knees. Having finished and risen on her feet, she went back to the head of the hall, and commenced giving in turn to each of the poor women a large wooden platter, with enough food for four persons, filled with great pieces of salted fish, and two large loaves, and thus she went a second time distributing these alms. She next returned a third time, to begin again, giving to each of the women a wooden bowl filled with wine, or rather, I think, hippocras; after which, for the fourth time, she returned and gave to each of these poor people a piece of cloth of royal mixture for clothing (*un pezzo di panno mischio di reale per vestire*). Then returning for the fifth time she gave to each a pair of shoes and stockings; for the sixth time she gave to each a leathern purse, containing forty-one pennies, according to the number of her own years, and which in value may amount to rather more than half an Italian golden crown;* finally, going back for the seventh time, she distributed all the aprons and towels which had been carried by those dames and noble ladies, in number forty-one, giving each with her own hand.

Her Majesty then quitted the hall to take off the gown which she had worn, and half an hour afterwards she returned, being preceded by an attendant carrying the said gown, and thus she went twice round the hall, examining very closely all the poor women one by one, and then returning for the third time she gave the said gown to the one who was in fact the poorest and most aged of them all; and this gown was of the finest purple cloth, lined with martens' fur, and with sleeves so long and wide that they reached the ground. During this ceremony the choristers chaunted the miserere, with certain other psalms, reciting at each verse the words—

“In diebus illis mulier quæ erat in civitate peccatrix.”

After this, on Friday morning [4th April] the offertory was performed according to custom in the church of the Franciscan Friars,

* The golden crown and the Venetian sequin were of equal value, so it is thus seen that in the course of two centuries and a half the standard of the English silver coinage had been so debased, that the sequin, which in 1410 could be purchased in London for 30½d., was worth 82 pence in the year 1556. The value of the sequin in English money in 1410 is ascertained by a document registered in the Venetian Calendar, vol. 4, p. 451.

1556.

which is contiguous to the palace. After the Passion the Queen came down from her oratory for the adoration of the cross, accompanied by my lord the right reverend Legate, and kneeling at a short distance from the cross moved towards it on her knees, praying before it thrice, and then she drew nigh and kissed it, performing this act with such devotion as greatly to edify all those who were present. Her Majesty next gave her benediction to the rings,* the mode of doing so being as follows: An inclosure (*un riparo*) was formed for her Majesty to the right of the high altar by means of four benches placed so as to form a square, into the centre of which she again came down from her oratory, and placing herself on her knees within this inclosure, two large covered basins were brought to her, filled with rings of gold and silver, one of these basins containing rings of her own, whilst the other held those of private individuals (*particolari*), labelled with their owners' names. On their being uncovered she commenced reciting a certain prayer and psalms, and then taking them in her two hands (*pigliandoli a mano per mano*), she passed them again and again from one hand to the other, saying another prayer, which commenced thus:—

“Sanctifica, Domine, annulos istos.”

This being terminated, her Majesty went to bless the scrofulous, but she chose to perform this act privately in a gallery, where there were not above 20 persons; and an altar being raised there she knelt and recited the confession, on the conclusion of which her Majesty turned towards my right reverend Lord the Legate, who gave her absolution; whereupon a priest read from the Gospel according to St. Mark, and on his coming to the words—

“Super ægros manus imponet et bene habebunt,”

she caused one of those infirm women to be brought to her, and kneeling the whole time she commenced pressing, with her hands in the form of a cross, on the spot where the sore was, with such compassion and devotion as to be a marvel, and whilst she continued doing this to a man and to three women, the priest kept ever repeating these words:

“Super ægros manus imponet, et bene habebunt.”

Then on terminating the Gospel, after the words—

“In principio erat verbum,”

and on coming to the following, namely,—

“Erat lux vera quæ illuminat omnem hominem in hunc mundum,”

then the Queen made the sick people again approach her, and taking a golden coin called an angel, she touched the place where the evil showed itself, and signed it with this coin in the form of the cross; and having done this, she passed a ribbon through a hole which had been pierced in the coin, and placed one of these round the neck of each of the patients, making them promise never to part

* “Cramp-rings,” concerning which see Foreign Calendar, 1553–1558, pp. 164, 165, 167.

1556.

with that coin, which was hallowed, save in case of extreme need; and then, having washed her hands, the towel being presented to her by my Lord the right reverend the Legate, she returned to her oratory.

Having been present myself in person at all these ceremonies, her Majesty struck me as affording a great and rare example of goodness, performing all those acts with such humility and love of religion, offering up her prayers to God with so great devotion and affection, and enduring for so long a while and so patiently so much fatigue; and seeing thus, that the more her Majesty advances in the rule of this kingdom, so does she daily afford fresh and greater opportunities for commending her extreme piety, I dare assert that there never was a queen in Christendom of greater goodness than this one, whom I pray God long to save and prosper, for the glory of His divine honour, and for the edification and exaltation of His holy church, not less than for the consolation and salvation of the people of this island.

I will not omit telling you that on Holy Thursday alms were distributed here in the Court to a great amount, to upwards of 3,000 persons; and this reminds me that my right reverend Lord the Legate, having sent in advance to Canterbury to make great provision for his entry, which subsequently, for certain reasons, the Queen refused on any account to permit, his right reverend Lordship then caused all his provisions to be distributed amongst the poor, 2,000 of whom were reckoned, and these alms were taken to their houses; nor do I include herein the alms given to many other poor people, who had flocked to Canterbury from the neighbourhood; all which causes the indigent population there (*quel povero popolo*) now to await his right reverend Lordship with greater anxiety than ever.

London, 3rd May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

474. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de la Chaux departs this day to go and take possession of Burgundy for King Philip, and as said by him again in public, the Emperor has not given him leave to remain more than a week, that he may return to him immediately to follow him to Spain; his Majesty intending to remove to Ghent, at the beginning of next month, and commanding the utmost haste to be made for the arrangement of his personal affairs. He has also sent to Zealand to hasten Don Luis de Caravajal, who writes that he has 20 ships in readiness, besides the seven fitted out by Bazan, which came from Spain well manned (*con molte genti*). Caravajal has also been ordered to keep some "*urche*," and including the 15, with which the Queen wrote that she would accommodate his Majesty, they will be upwards of 60 sail. During the last six days the Emperor has been taking the water of the baths of Liège, and says that although it is not so efficacious as at the place itself, it nevertheless does him great good, and that he feels in better bodily health than he has been since a long while.

Brussels, 4th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.

May 5.

Dispacci Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 6. B.

475. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The reverend Governor of Rome continuing to arrest as many of the household of the Imperial ambassador as can be found abroad, on account of the man they rescued from the catchpoles, Don Antonio Caraffa told him the other day publicly on St. Peter's Square, that he ought to carry water to extinguish the fire, and not feed it with fuel, it being now time for him to cease arresting the ambassador's attendants. He said that having been charged with the police of this city he could not fail in his duty; that he chose the papal officials to be respected, and would obey no one but his Holiness. One of the Caraffas, the Pope's kinsman, went in the name of the Count of Montorio to the ambassador's house, to tell him he would do well to place in the Governor's hands those of his attendants who rescued that man, as otherwise he could not assure the ambassador that the Pope would not confine him in the castle. The ambassador apologises by saying that what took place was against his will, and that he neither knows who the delinquents were, nor their present abode.

Then to-day, the Pope being on his way to the public consistory for the reception of the Polish ambassador,* said to the Cardinals Farnese and Santafiore (who were accompanying him as assistants), when speaking about ambassadors, that he no longer considered the Marquis of Sarria ambassador, that he had degraded him, but spared his life, in order not to disturb the negotiation for peace, as otherwise he would have sent his head flying far away from his shoulders, and that to his great regret did he abstain from doing so, solely to enable him to send the Legates (*che gli haveria fatto buttar la testa lontana dal busto; e ch'è restata con suo gran dispiacere, solamente per poter mandare li Legati*).

Rome, 5th May 1556.

[Italian.]

May 5.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

476. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF BURGOS [FRANCESCO MENDOZA].

Will not conceal from Mendoza his very great surprise and dissatisfaction, not only at the non-payment of the arrears of his pension [on the see of Burgos], but also that during so long a while Mendoza should have abstained from answering the letters which Pole wrote to him on this subject, requesting him with all earnestness to give such orders as would enable Pole to avail himself of what is due to him from Mendoza on account of this pension, of which he has great need, without writing to him again about his astonishment and regret. On receiving Mendoza's letter of the 28th March, (which to speak freely, did not altogether satisfy him, as he was thereby requested to wait yet longer, under promise of future payment, having already waited but too long, as on next St. John's day two years' pension will be due to him,) he learnt what he also heard, in date 8th April, from his agent at Rome,

* The departure of the Polish ambassador, and the reply given to his demands, are recorded in Foreign Calendar, date 9th June 1556, p. 228.

1556.

who had it from Mendoza's agent, that the management of the revenues of the see of Burgos had lately been assigned by Mendoza to certain merchants, with orders to pay Pole all his arrears immediately and in full, and to make the future payments in due season. Pole therefore desired the merchants his correspondents at Burgos to receive his entire credit, of which he already availed himself a long while ago, pledging it in England at considerable loss, and having relied on this announcement, he hopes in this matter likewise to be convinced by facts of Mendoza's goodwill towards him, of which, however, he has never doubted, and is persuaded that this difficulty, and the long delay in paying him, proceeded from any other cause than a deficiency of regard, knowing how much he himself entertains for Mendoza, and how very desirous he is of doing him any service he can. Again requests him to reply, and to give imperative orders for Pole's correspondents to be paid in full and without any delay, in which case Mendoza will very greatly oblige him.

London, 5th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

477. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the day of the execution of the two conspirators, on the sudden and unexpectedly, the Government sent to Fleet prison five leading cavaliers,* from amongst those most in the habit of frequenting the Court, personages of note and in general repute by reason of their rank and fortune. One of them is an individual of the family of the Earl of Devonshire, now resident at Venice, to whom he is related, by name Sir William Courtenay, who resides here, and is one of the young followers of the Court (*giovane di seguito*), yet does he begin to be talked about, and he is the son-in-law of the Lord Treasurer's son.† Courtenay and his companions were present at the execution of the conspirators, when they spoke with Throckmorton, seeming not only remote from all blame, but even from the suspicion of it. Many persons are of opinion that they were suspected, because whilst present at that spectacle they like youths perhaps expressed themselves more licentiously than becoming. Others suppose them to have been indicated by the said Throckmorton, who shortly before his death had a long private conversation with the Dean of Westminster [John Feckenham], who subsequently made his report to the Court, although in public Throckmorton said he had neither named nor injured anyone, because it was not in his power to do so, nor could he, nor would he. To me it has been told that the suspicion concerning these and other persons proceeds from an individual who during the first days of the discovery of the plot was arrested on account of certain intercepted letters from Henry

* Sir William Courtenay, Sir John Paratt, Sir John Pallard, Sir Nicholas Arnold, and Sir John Chichester. (See Machyn, p. 104.)

† Sir William Courtenay had married Elizabeth, daughter of John Powlet. He was killed at the storming of St. Quentin, or died shortly afterwards. (See Collins, vol. 6, p. 264.)

1556.

Dudley, who is now a declared rebel. The person above mentioned would not at first confess anything, but subsequently either from love or fear demanded a conference with Sir Edward Hastings, the Queen's Master of the Horse (*cavalerizzo*), who having gone to him by order of the Royal Council, brought back such information that the ministry immediately determined to arrest those five gentlemen, much to the surprise and regret of everybody by reason of their quality. Be this as it may I understand that some of them have already been removed from the "Fleet" to the Tower, their houses, moveables, and effects having been sequestered, and an inventory taken of them for account of the Exchequer.

On the same day another gentleman of repute (*tenuto di stima*), who commanded companies in the time of Wyatt,* was taken publicly to the Tower, together with a servant of Lord Clinton, and they have sent into the country to seize Sir Giles Strangeways,† a wealthy knight and a person of account, together with some others; and two days ago Lord Bray,‡ an attendant who enjoyed such great favour in the time of King Edward and of the Duke of Northumberland, was placed under close custody in the Tower; so that from day to day they verify the suspicion that the conspiracy included a greater number of persons and of higher grade and quality than those first arrested, it being already reported that the whole of the West is suspected, and that all the nobility and gentry resident there will be sent for, of whom the Earl of Worcester§ has already arrived, he having been summoned by an order from the Queen, and all his retainers expecting him to be sent to prison, notwithstanding which he is as yet at large, and goes everywhere.

They are still constantly intent on the examination of the prisoners, those "indicted" according to the custom here, which signifies accused, being in number 20, nor can it be reasonably supposed that too lenient a sentence will be passed on them.

Lord Clinton returned from France two days ago, reporting himself as having been, according to custom, much honoured and favoured by the King, who also made him a present, and with regard to the rebels said frankly that not knowing them to be such they were therefore received as unreservedly as became the present peace and friendship between the two kingdoms, harbour being given to all sorts of Englishmen, in like manner as here they receive all sorts of Frenchmen; but if they are rebels, not knowing whither they have withdrawn themselves, whenever aware of their being in his territories, he will not fail, as is due, in having them placed in her Majesty's hands, it being his wish to maintain himself in such love and friendship with her as becoming. Should this be true your Serenity will have had more authentic notice of it from the French court; *for on the contrary it is also heard that not only did the King not offer to surrender these individuals (a*

* Captain William Staunton. (See Machyn, pp. 105, 106, 348, and the Verney Papers, pp. 61, 70, 71.)

† See Machyn (pp. 281, 389), who, however, makes no mention of this arrest, neither is it recorded in "the Verney Papers."

‡ John, Lord Bray. (See Machyn, p. 361, and Verney Papers, pp. 66, 67, 73-76.)

§ William Herbert, fourth Earl.

1556.

voler dar questi), but said openly that he would rather suffer in his own person than fail to receive and treat kindly any Englishmen, of however low degree (qual si vogli minimo Anglese), who might take refuge in his realm. To-day the French ambassador was a long while at the palace, I believe about this business, concerning which should I hear that anything has passed worthy of your Serenity's notice, I will not omit to give you notice of it by the first opportunity.

After Francesco Piamontese, Gamboa was despatched with the same speed. The transactions between Queen Mary and her consort are carried on with greater secrecy than ever, and with difficulty can they be ascertained save through the result, everything else being mere conjecture.

The negotiation for the peace has commenced here between the Abbot of San Saluto and the French ambassador; although it took a good turn, it seems to have been postponed by all the parties until the arrival of the Apostolic Legates; so the Abbot expecting to have to remain a long while idle here, has determined to wait no longer, but to follow up his determination of proceeding to Italy, and departed this day, going by way of France, where having to remain at the court for affairs of his own, he will, perhaps, moreover, stay for these (*per questi*), being considered an excellent instrument, by reason of the trust and authority he has gained for himself with both sides, and he will perhaps be able to do more good abroad than by remaining here.

London, 5th May 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

May 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

478. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Lieutenant d'Amont, the Imperial Ambassador, has arrived, and conferred with the Constable. The release of the prisoners is reduced to two principal points; first, the Emperor and his son persevere in their intention (*continuano in proposito*) of releasing the prisoners for the ransom already stipulated, and as they have not given a just account of their revenues and pensions, their Majesties are content that the King do especially charge them to make just returns under pain of his displeasure; but what gives offence is that they will not release them until the expiration of the three months, which was the term assigned by their Majesties for the release of the Duke de Bouillon and the Constable's son, although at the first and second concordats (*nelli concordati primo et secondo*) this was not declared. The other point is, that the Imperialists say that in the promise made by the Emperor and King Philip to release the two aforesaid personages within three months, they declared that within that period they would put a fair pecuniary ransom on them, but it was not expressed that within that same term they should be released; which statement when made by the ambassador to the Constable, he answered him that these are questions of law (*punti di homeni*

1556.

di legge), and not for discussion between Princes, and that although these words were now uttered he could not bring himself to believe that such was the mind (*animo*) of the Emperor and King Philip; whereupon the ambassador rejoined that by means of a good peace all these difficulties would be settled in a week. These words are much pondered, and it is supposed that these delays about the release of the prisoners are not only for the purpose of having security in hand that the most Christian King may not think of innovation (*non pensi a cose nove*), but also to facilitate a certain negotiation for peace, which by advices from England and other quarters receives confirmation of being much desired by the Imperialists.

Blois, 9th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

479. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor's orders for departure to Spain are being executed daily, and the ships in Zealand are so prepared that they await nothing but his arrival, as even the cabins (*appartamenti*) are made not only in the one destined for his Majesty, which is one of the seven Biscainers, but also on board all the others; and the troops are being raised in Friesland by the Count of Nassau.

The Emperor is having his household paid, giving 12 arrears (*paghe*) to each of its members, and the remaining 10 will be given at the time of his departure for Ghent, whither he will depart within a month; and the Queens, who went to Tournai, are attending to such matters as are necessary to enable them to accompany his Majesty. The report also of King Philip's going to England still continues, but neither the ministers nor his Majesty himself any longer assert that it will take place at the beginning of next month, as he told Lord Paget, who went about assuring everybody of this, and that he should go back with his Majesty; but by taking leave of the Emperor yesterday, to depart in three days, he has surprised everybody. Some persons believe that the King has rather cooled about going so immediately as was promised by him, owing to the confession made to the Queen by one of the prisoners that he had determined to kill her consort; and some are of opinion that King Philip has sent Lord Paget back, in order that he may return subsequently with the Earl of Pembroke and other English noblemen, to conduct him, with more positive arrangements (*con ordini più stabili*), Don Juan Manrique, a member of the privy council, having said that although the Queen professes here to resign herself thus to the King's will, it is nevertheless evident that she either allows herself to be biased by her ministers, or that Paget has promised more than he was commissioned to do. Others say that his Majesty's departure for England is delayed by the hope of the coming hither of the King of Bohemia.

The Duke of Savoy and the Bishop of Arras, with the council of these States, departed yesterday for Tournai (*per Fornaut—sic*) in

1556.

order (it is said) to consult with Queen Maria about pecuniary supply, owing to the difficulties about the demand made by the King from the lords and deputies; and some say to discuss the necessary arrangements for the departure of both their Majesties, giving orders for a great number of ships, troops, and artillery; whilst others are of opinion that this has been done *for the purpose of thus quieting the anger of Queen Maria, who before her departure was heard to say that neither the King nor the others any longer held her suggestions in such account as was due by reason of her long experience in the government of these provinces.*

Brussels, 10th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

480. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Lalain has returned from France, and although in public he congratulates himself greatly on the honours and acts of courtesy received from the most Christian King, *I have nevertheless heard, that from various signs remarked by him during his stay at the French court, he has reported that no certainty can be entertained of the duration of the truce;* and this morning the French ambassador accredited to their Majesties here went to King Philip to remind him of his promise, that on the return of M. de Lalain he would decide about the prisoners, urging his Majesty to release the four principal ones. The King replied that the day before yesterday he sent an express to his ambassador in France telling him he thought his most Christian Majesty should seek the ransom of all his prisoners, and not merely of four, and that he should release the six hundred slaves of the galleys of the Prince and of Signor Antonio Doria, who were detained in Corsica, one day after the stipulation of this truce, by Giordano Orsini. The Frenchman replied that neither his King nor any private individual should be bound to ransom one [prisoner] rather than another; and that he did not think it just that those who were able to pay should remain in prison on account of those who had not the means of providing for their ransoms. King Philip rejoined, that if they could not pay neither was it just that his subjects should have to pay their expenses for so long a while without hope of being ever reimbursed; and although the King's words were gentle (*dolce*), those which the ambassador utters on the subject are nevertheless bitter (*amare*), for he says that the promise made to his King by the commissioners at Cambrai is not observed.

Advices have been received to-day from these frontiers giving notice that not only are the French troops not disbanding, as has been done by those of the Emperor and the King, but that they are adding to their numbers; *which some persons attribute to the intention of France to break the truce, and others to the purpose of creating suspicion, and also of taking some step to interrupt the coronation in England, by reason of the troops which are being raised in Friesland for embarkation on board the fleet which is now*

1556.

being prepared for the Emperor's departure (et chi al disegno di metter sospetto et anco di far alcun effetto per interromper la incoronatione in Anglia per le genti che si fanno in Frisia da condur sull' armata che si prepara per la partita di Sua Cesarea Maestà).

The deputies of these provinces have answered the King that for just causes they cannot grant his Majesty's demand for one per cent. on immoveables and two per cent on moveables, but that they are willing, by other means, to raise a million of gold, as notified by some of them heretofore, for the succour of his need ; but from what I have heard from the author of the proposal, the King has modified the demand, and said in writing that he is satisfied with one per cent. alone ; assuring them positively of two things, the one, that he is content not to send any of the officials of his court to register the property and take an estimate of it, but that this be done by the parish priests and the chief burghers (*li piovani et i principali delli luoghi*) ; the other, that he will not receive this money himself, but that it be employed for the payment of his debt to Antwerp and other towns which pledged their revenues to serve his Majesty ; as also to give to divers lords who served in this war without stipend, and mortgaged their castles for expenditure when required ; and moreover that it may be spent on the new fortresses in these provinces, and on others which stand in need of repair. The King is also content that for the ordinary service of his table and the court there be put aside 200,000 crowns annually, and that this sum be sent to him from day to day proportionally. Should the demand be accepted, the projector of the tax tells me it will yield his Majesty two millions of gold, though the States have five years time within which to disburse it. The deputies have also requested the King to recall the Spanish troops from these frontiers, and to garrison them with his own [Flemish] subjects, who would be quite sufficient for that purpose during the truce ; but the Duke of Savoy, as governor of these provinces, told the King before his departure that he ought not to consent to this, but compel the States to pay in ordinary 3,000 of these Spaniards and 400 cavalry, and 3,000 Germans from Upper Germany, by reason of the suspicions about the rupture of the truce.

Brussels, 10th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 12.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

481. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Lord Paget departed this morning on his return to England, and from what he told many persons, the King, in the act of his taking leave, charged him to tell the Queen that if he did not return to her in the course of next month without waiting any longer for the King of Bohemia, or having regard for any other impediment, she was not to consider him a trustworthy King (*ella non lo stimasse Re degno di fede*) ; and of this he also received assurance from the Emperor, who moreover said that his wish was to embark for Spain before the expiration of that term, and that he should

1556.

endeavour to do so before his son's departure. Lord Paget received from the King a chain worth twelve hundred crowns, which his attendants said was a recompense the precise equivalent of the expenses incurred by him during this brief mission, as he spent 170 crowns weekly for his table alone. At the last banquet given by him to several Spanish cavaliers, I have heard that when discussing the King's departure for England some of them said to him that considering so many conspiracies, and the confession of that individual who had determined to kill him with a carbine (*archibusetto*) on his landing, and knowing their ill-will, they (the Spaniards) cannot commend his return thither; to which Lord Paget replied that they might come cheerfully, as he assured them that for the future the authority they exercised in England would be of a different sort to what they have had there hitherto *ai quali esso rispose, che potevano venir allegramente, perchè accertava loro, che nell' avvenire, sariano di altra autorità in quel Regno, che non sono stati*).

The French ambassador says that the 200,000 crowns which Lord Paget reported as having been taken by him at Antwerp and Bruges for the Queen of England, were disbursed by the merchants to give to the King her consort.

The Spaniard Portiglio has returned from the King of Bohemia with letters for the Emperor and King Philip, giving them sure hope of his coming, and I understand that the Emperor wrote him back immediately a most loving letter, praying him to speed his coming, as next month his Imperial Majesty purposed departing. Hence, telling him besides that he was quite disposed to gratify the said Maximilian and the King his father by sending the act of renunciation of the Empire to the Diet at Ratisbon, a proceeding which the Spaniards say is solicited (*procurata*) by the King of the Romans,* *lest in case the Emperor make the renunciation during absence, the electors take a fancy to elect a King of Bohemia, and such a one as perchance might not be of the House of Austria, and thus cause much mischief*.

A courier arrived yesterday from Spain with a very long letter from the Council of Castille to the King, who is ill pleased with it, as it exceeded the bounds of discretion, not only by reminding his Majesty of the things he ought to do, but also of those which he should leave undone; nor is it heard that the preparations for the war in Africa proceed in the manner reported here some time ago. This same courier gave news of their having great hope of a good harvest this year, and he has brought the Emperor a specimen of the new vein of silver, which his Majesty choose to have assayed, to compare it with that of the Indies and of the Tyrol, which it exceeds by about 15 per cent. (*et dicesi esser avvantaggiata da quelle di quindici per cento in circa*). The King has lately farmed a duty in that province [Castille], which yielded him 26,000 crowns revenue, and for which he will now obtain 300,000 crowns.

* According to a letter quoted by M. Mignet in his "Abdication de Charles Quint," p. 117 (ed. Paris, 1868), the King of the Romans in October 1555 did his utmost to prevent Charles V. from renouncing the Imperial crown, and prayed him at any rate not to publish the act of renunciation until the next Diet.

1556.

Don Diego de Azevedo, the King's maggiordomo, has been destined by him to go to Spain to receive the oath from the kingdoms of Aragon, Valentia, and Catalonia; and in the other kingdoms, according to their laws and customs, the standards were raised, as a sign that his Majesty had succeeded to them; and it is said that Don Diego will negotiate certain matters with the Queen in England.

From the letters of the Duke of Savoy and the Bishop of Arras, who went with the Council of State to Queen Maria at Tournai (*Formant—sic*) it seems that she is beyond measure enraged because the King has refused to give her the town of Mechlin, it appearing to his Majesty and the Emperor that she does not intend going to Spain, although she has hitherto made a contrary demonstration; and Don Ruy Gomez has said that possibly the King will go to see her.

The Marquis of Renti (*d'Arrenti*) departed hence postwise this day for Cambrai, whither he is informed that his brother, the Duke d'Arshot, who was prisoner in France, has made his escape. Count Broccardo, who was accredited to the Queen of Poland, has also been commissioned to go to the Pope, to inform him that the Emperor and King Philip will soon send him an ambassador, as they understand he is dissatisfied with the Marquis of Sarria; *but the chief ministers here believe his Holiness to bear their Majesties the utmost ill-will that could be entertained towards them by an open enemy, and they suspect him of harassing them in the kingdom of Naples, through some combination which they expect him to effect with the King of France by means of Cardinal Caraffa.*

Brussels, 12th May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 12.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

482. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the arrest of those gentlemen mentioned in my last nothing further has happened save that of those who were imprisoned first of all, three others have been tried, two of whom were condemned, there not being then time* to despatch the third, who was taken back [to the Guildhall] to-day and convicted.

Of these three one had been the servant and the son of a great servant† of the Queen, both one and the other being very well deserving of her Majesty, the father having succoured her, in the time of the Duke of Northumberland, with a considerable sum of money

* Henry Peckham and John Daniel were tried on the 7th May 1556; William Staunton on the 12th May. (See Verney Papers, Camden Society publication, p. 71.)

† Sir Edmund Peckham, knight, of Denham, in the county of Bucks, "distinguished himself by his loyal zeal in opposition to Lady Jane Grey. He was among the first to proclaim Queen Mary in his own county of Buckingham, and united with Sir Francis Hastings in raising men to act on the rear of the forces which Northumberland was leading against Mary. Sir Edmund Peckham's rewards were found in a grant of lands, and in the constant favour of his grateful mistress. During the reign of Edward VI. he had been appointed to the office of Treasurer of the Mint, and throughout her reign he was also one of her privy council. On Elizabeth's accession he was laid aside as a privy councillor, but continued undisturbed in his office of the Mint." (See notices of the "loyal Sir Edmund Peckham," by Mr. John Bruce, in Verney Papers, pp. 57, 58.)

1556.

belonging to the Crown and to himself individually, which he chanced to have in cash, whilst his son [Henry] was the man who with a few companions succeeded in closing and keeping the gate of the city of London (which until a short while before his appearance had remained open), whereby Wyatt intended to make his entry; so it is hoped the Queen will at least spare his life, though he was pardoned heretofore for robberies (*anchor che un' altra volta li fusse perdonato per latrocinij*).

The two are captains, men of birth and valour (*li due sono capitanei, persone nobili, et valorose*), and on the way from the Tower to the Guildhall, and on their return, they were accompanied by the populace in tears, a demonstration rarely or never made in favour of persons condemned for high treason, these signs being an additional proof of the regret and compassion felt for their death; nor is it expected that they, or the others who from time to time may be convicted, will by any means obtain either pardon or remission, it being said that the Queen has thus determined, by reason of the small fruit derived from her past indulgence and clemency.

Of the gentlemen in the Fleet it seems that by reason of a letter of evil nature (*una lettera di mala natura*) which has come to light, Sir William Courtenay has been removed thence, and taken to the Tower; the others are allowed more liberty, having had leave to speak with anybody in the presence of the captain of the prison; and the chief personages who were sent for from the provinces begin to arrive.

This letter of evil nature is said to have come from beyond sea, through Peter Carew, heretofore a rebel and accomplice in Wyatt's conspiracy, it having been addressed to him by some of the [present] conspirators, unbosoming their whole intention and projects, to draw him over to them as a person of ability and who has followers. Carew having revealed the conspiracy to King Philip, his Majesty did not choose that he should go to him in person,* but under another pretence despatched Sir John Masone and Lord Paget to Antwerp, where Carew was, and he there showed and delivered the letter to them, the King sending it hither subsequently, and in it are the names of the chief conspirators.

The fitting out of the ships for the conveyance of the Admiral towards Portsmouth for the security of those parts, and that they may be ready for the return of the King, is being hastened more than usual, the last advices from Lord Paget, dated the 7th, purporting that it will not be long delayed as the coming of the King of Bohemia is at an end.

At the audience given to the French ambassador, first by the Queen and then by the Council, nothing but compliments passed with regard to Lord Clinton's mission, though her Majesty persisted in saying that she could not believe that the most Christian King would break the promise given by him to his Lordship of delivering up to her her rebels; and the ambassador confirmed this, saying in his King's name that his Majesty would do his utmost, though

* In the original letter the word is "*principalmente*," evidently a mistake for "*personalmente*."

1556.

he did not vouch for the result, saying on the contrary that with so many provisos and prohibitions it was difficult for his King to deliver up the others, who contrary to his will secrete themselves throughout his dominions (*anzi dicendo esser cosa difficile al suo Re con tutte le provisioni et prohibitioni che egli facci haver delli altri che contra la voglia sua vano, nascondendosi per i suoi Regni*).

Besides the two couriers sent in haste beyond sea one after the other, neither of whom has yet returned, a third has moreover been despatched, this last being the servant of the President Figueroa, and the designs (*pratiche*) are more secret than ever.

The Bishop of Lincoln is sending an express to Rome for the bulls of induction to the see of Winchester (*a far la espeditione della chiesa di Vincestre*), on which the Queen has chosen him to assign 1,000*l.* to Cardinal Pole, for whom she has also ordered the release of certain revenues of his archbishopric held by the Crown to the amount of about 4,000 golden ducats (*scudi*), so that his right reverend Lordship is enabled to exercise with less inconvenience his liberality in favour of some of his Italian servants on their return to Italy, amongst whom and to some few who remain here he has distributed 6,000 crowns (*scudi*) ready money, as remuneration for their services, besides 300 crowns pension conceded by him to the Abbot of Saluto (on his departure) for his nephews, to be derived from his right reverend Lordship's abbacy in the Ferrarese.

London, 12th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 15.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

483. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day on my arrival here, when following the court to Fontainebleau, I received news that on the night of the 12th the Duke d'Arshot [Philippe de Cröy], who was prisoner in a palace of the King's, one league from Paris, called the wood of Vincennes, made his escape as arranged by some Flemish gentlemen who had obtained permission to visit him, thus:—Having let himself down by the [corroded in MS.] of a privy (*d'un loco immondo*), with the assistance of one of his keepers whom he had bribed, he pushed himself so far forward (*si tirò tanto avanti*), that having got to a convenient spot the persons who were in waiting for that purpose extricated him, and having mounted on oxen (*et montati sopra bovi*) and [corroded in MS.] already prepared, he went off, and is supposed to be already in safety, as although officials were very soon sent from Paris in every direction to seize him, it is nevertheless not heard that he has been found. This intelligence has greatly disturbed the court, because owing to the loss of so great a personage they fear that the release of the prisoners will be more difficult than before, the only other Imperialist of quality being the Count [Albert] de Mansfeldt, who was comprised in the ordinary ransom for the release of the other prisoners, but the Constable in particular will suffer greatly, not only from the aforesaid difficulty,

1556.

but also because even should the release be finally accomplished he remains without the means of exchanging his son for this duke, whose ransom had been already given to him by his most Christian Majesty for that purpose.

Orleans, 15th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 16.
Dis-pacci Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 6. B.

484. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday there was "congregation" and chapel.

In the congregation the Pope after inveighing against the Colonna family, expatiating on the injuries done by them to the Apostolic See, commended those popes who of yore deprived them of their state, adding that his predecessors had not known how to finish the work as he intended doing, as that state must not be kept in the apostolic chamber, but be given to a person who would hold it in fee from the church, and be able to defend it during an interregnum, and that should his Holiness not have had nephews capable of this charge, he would diligently have sought for a person to whom to give it; but as His Divine Majesty had given him the Count of Montorio, it was on him that he would confer it, preferring his Caraffa family to that of Colonna, and saying that the Count might be compared and preferred to the Ascaniuses, the Marc' Antonios, and the Prosperos, and others (*e che 'l Conte poteva esser comparato, et anteposto alli Ascanij, Marcantonij, Prosperi, et altri*), and that he, the Pope, spoke sparingly about him (*ch'era scarso in parlar di lui*) because he was his nephew. His Holiness then told the cardinals that he had not called them for the purpose of receiving either reply or counsel from them, but that if they had anything to add in confirmation of his discourse they might do so, coming to the conclusion that he purposed expelling his enemies from the house, providing against the possibility of their return, and leaving the affairs of the Apostolic See in such security that the cardinals, should they be men of worth and not factious, will not have to fear anyone. To these words nothing whatever was said, but all the cardinals openly evinced dissatisfaction, and on their entering the chapel the Count of Montorio made his appearance in a ducal mantle of cloth of gold, and the Pope created him Duke of Paliano, and of the rest of the state belonging to the late Ascanius Colonna. The ceremony consisted in blessing him, giving him the sword and spurs, striking him thrice on the shoulder with the sword, giving him the ducal bonnet of crimson velvet ornamented with a profusion of pearls and jewels, and the silver-gilt sceptre, and causing him to swear fealty to his Holiness and his successors on the holy gospels, and to present the Pope with a gold cup containing a few crowns as acknowledgment for the fief. The bull of investiture was read by Signor Berengo in so low a voice as to be inaudible. According to report Don Diomede, the new Duke's son, is created Marquis of Cava, a state which in like manner belonged to Ascanius Colonna; in default of the line of the late Count of Montorio, that of his brother the Count of Montorio is to succeed; and on St. Peter's day, when all the other feudatories pay, they are to disburse the annual acknowledgment (*censo*) of a thousand crowns.

1556.

On the conclusion of the mass the Duke went to the Campidoglio accompanied by a great number of horsemen in the service of the courtiers, by the hundred Roman cavaliers, by the light cavalry of the Pope's guard, and by some companies of infantry. He was preceded by three standards, followed by many prelates, and when he passed the castle it saluted him with endless discharges of artillery, and bonfires and illuminations blazed in Rome and in the castle for two consecutive evenings, as usual at public rejoicings. The Count of Matalona (whose arrival from Naples was mentioned in my last) served at the ceremony, girding and ungirding the Count's sword, and he is said to have come by permission of the Duke of Alva, and that he purposes requesting the Pope to make his town a city.

The bull of investiture was signed by the cardinals, and in the act of signing Cardinal Tournon said that in France his signature would be considered null, as he had not been in the council (*non essendo stato nel consiglio*), and the Cardinal San Giacomo* refused to sign as he was not at the congregation, and the act not seeming to him advantageous either for the Apostolic See or for his Holiness' family.

On that day the Pope invited all the cardinals to dinner, the greater part of whom remained, as did the ambassador from Poland and myself, I having been invited in the Pope's name. The tables having been removed three times (*3 volte levate le tavole*),† the Pope withdrew to the audience chamber, whither having called the cardinals and us ambassadors, he said that on that day he had performed an act greatly to his satisfaction, and that God the Blessed had inspired him to do so in the month and perhaps on the very day when these enemies of God, years ago, sacked Rome, nor has the due vengeance prepared by the great justice of God for this crime committed by them and their accomplices as yet been witnessed to the full; and then turning towards the cardinals Pacheco and Cueva he said to them, "Your countrymen (*li vostri*) were the villains who perpetrated that act of impiety." His Holiness then added, "To-morrow we shall perform another important ceremony, viz., that of assembling consistory to give the cross to the legates, that they may go to endeavour to effect a peace. From the King of France, of whose mind we are almost sure, we expect it; from your people (*dalli vostri*)"—again addressing the Cardinals Pacheco and Cueva—"we know not what to hope. We choose to clear up this doubt, nor will we fail in our duty." Everybody remained quiet at this discourse, nor did the Spanish cardinals of the Imperial faction dare raise their eyes. From this topic the Pope passed to a lament about the calamity of the present times, with regard to heresy, complaining that kingdoms and provinces heretofore Christian were in danger, whereupon the Polish ambassador, my neighbour,

* Juan Alvarez of Toledo, of the family of the Dukes of Alva, commonly called Cardinal of Burgos, from which see he was transferred in 1553 to Compostella. He is also styled Cardinal de Santiago. (See Cardella, and Foreign Calendar 1553-1558, Index.)

† The dinner seems to have been of three courses; I translate literally, but perhaps the dishes alone and not the tables were removed at each course.

1556.

said to me angrily, "*Quorsum tendit ista oratio?*" and the Pope continuing to speak on this subject, my colleague said to me again in anger, "*Vellem propius adesse; nescio quomodo incidit in istum sermonem recordari initium, nec video adhuc finem.*" From this same ambassador I heard that at his private audience he told the Pope that the Poles made five demands of the King; first, the marriage of priests; secondly, the communion *sub utriusque specie*; thirdly, the mass in their own tongue; fourthly, a national council; fifthly, suppression of the annats; they being determined on these things at any rate. He said that this seemed to trouble the Pope, who chose to discuss these matters in person with the ambassador, and not through cardinals.

I am told that when the Duchess of Paliano* went to kiss the Pope's foot, he told her she had good cause to rejoice, as he has given her husband a secure state, and which will certainly be his, and pass to his descendants. This new duchy is said to yield an annual rental of 20,000 crowns; and that the Duke will find produce there to the amount of 8,000; and two companies have been sent thither to prevent any disturbance. The Captain Palazzo of Fano has also been sent to make a careful survey of Palliano, and report upon the mode of rendering it a fortress.

The night before last at the fourth hour (midnight), Cardinal Caraffa, the Duke, and Marshal Strozzi and Don Antonio, went with other engineers to inspect Rocca di Papa in order to fortify it. They rode postwise, in order to return, as they did, at an early hour in the evening.

This investiture is considered a very momentous affair, and likely to cause many changes, as will be seen from day to day; and from a person in the confidence of the Imperialists, I understand that the Count di Popoli having sent the Duke of Alva certain advices from Rome about the investiture of the Colonna states in the person of the Count of Montorio, and concerning the intention of fortifying one or two places, the Duke said that he should put up with everything, and not attack without an order from the Emperor and the King of England, but that he would not tolerate fortifications on the borders of the kingdom of Naples, in which matter he should not await instructions; and he desired the bearer of the advices to say this much to the said Count di Popoli.

Rome, 16th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 16.
Dispacci Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 6. B.

485. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Monday consistory assembled, and after audience the crosses were given to the legates, whom all the cardinals accompanied beyond St. Peter's gate.

* Violante Garlonia, who for adultery was strangled by her own brother, the Count of Aliffe, in the presence of her husband and her brother-in-law, Cardinal Carlo Caraffa, on the 30th August 1559, twelve days after the death of Paul IV., who, when he heard that the Duke of Paliano had killed her paramour, enquired, "*E della Duchessa che si è fatto?*" upon which hint the last act of the tragedy was completed at Jalliese. (See Guerra degli Spagnuoli contra Paolo IV. da Pietro Neres, libro iv., pp. 280, 281; ed. Firenze, 1847.)

1556.

According to the letters from Naples, Marc' Antonio Colonna, who is going to the Imperial court with the Neapolitan donative for the King of England, has set out for Bari, with the intention of embarking on board your Serenity's galleys bound thither with the Queen of Poland.

Rome, 16th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 17.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

486. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the morrow of Lord Paget's departure for England, the King sent him a courier, and shortly afterwards the Secretary Verzosa; the one announcing the despatch of this last, the other having charge of some jewels for presentation to the Queen in his Majesty's name.

On that same day, by King Philip's order, there were arrested between Mechlin and Antwerp, Sir Peter Carew, and another Englishman, late tutor of King Edward and son-in-law of Sir John Masone, who resides with King Philip as councillor for the Queen (*per consigliere della Regina*).^{*} They were brought hither in the first instance to a place called Vilvert (*sic*), from which they were then taken secretly to Ghent, and it is said they will be conveyed to England. This circumstance has surprised everybody here, and greatly pains the English, as some of the persons aforesaid were presented here to King Philip and obtained his pardon for the things treated against him heretofore when he went to consummate his marriage with the Queen; and from what the King told the Duke of Savoy, who repeated it, he had them arrested from suspicion of fresh plots against himself and his consort; *but the English here, being of opinion that the suspicions are unfounded, say openly that this proceeding will cause his Majesty to lose the adherents already gained by him.* I have also heard that the Secretary Verzosa was sent both to give account of these arrests to the Queen, and to obtain from her letters of credit to the English merchants at Bruges (*Berges*) for a sum of equal amount to that which she sent by Lord Paget.

The Duke of Savoy, the Prince of Orange, the Bishop of Arras, and all the other members of the council of these States, have returned from Tournai, whither they went under pretence (*con nome*) of asking counsel (about the demand for a subsidy made lately from them) of Queen Maria, whose anger continues; and she shows very plainly that she will neither precede the Emperor to Spain, as he had requested her to do, nor accompany him. There is nothing more to tell either about his Majesty's departure, or of that of the King, for England, *save that certain leading ministers give it to be understood that the Emperor might delay the execution of his project, solely in the event of some resolve formed by the Pope and the King of France, to his Imperial Majesty's detriment and that of King*

^{*} In Mr. Turnbull's preface to the Foreign Calendar, 1553-1555, p. ix., there is the following passage, demonstrating the relationship between Sir John Cheke and Sir John Masone, thus:—"Lady Cheke's mother, the good widow Hill, had taken our ambassador for her second husband."

1556.

Philip; and whenever letters arrive here from Rome and Florence, many evil reports are heard from the Imperial ministers there of the ill-will of his Holiness and of the Duke of Ferrara towards their Majesties; so that, from what I have heard, it has been several times discussed in the privy council whether the Emperor and King Philip should show openly that they know the Pope's mind, and adopt measures in accordance with it.

The Spaniard who was sent by the King to his most Christian Majesty is returned from France, and has brought back the decision about certain articles added to those of the truce.

The Duke of Arschot has arrived here, and the French ambassador says it will be proved that he cannot justly be released in the mode adopted by him, without paying his ransom, as when conceded greater liberty he gave his "parole" not to make his escape.*

Brussels, 17th May 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

May 17.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

487. CARDINAL POLE to the DUKE of ALVA.

Pole's old and very dear friend the Archbishop of Salerno, by his learning and other rare qualities, deserves the opinion formed of him by the Emperor when he proposed him for that see, the government of which Pole knows must subject him to many difficulties; so although certain that Alva, of his own accord, will be ready to favour all his wishes for the service of God, he nevertheless requests Alva, with all earnestness, to be content, for love of Pole likewise, especially to protect him and his affairs relating to that bishopric, which, from the long absence of his predecessors, has suffered great loss and detriment, both spiritual and temporal, and for this Pole will remain especially obliged to Alva.

London, 17th May 1556.

[Italian.]

May 17?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

483. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of MANTUA.

The ambassador of the Duke of Mantua has delivered to him the Cardinal's affectionate letter giving particular account of his state. Prays God to continue protecting the Cardinal and the duchy, and that he may be daily comforted more and more by seeing his nephew the Duke such as the Cardinal and the Lady Duchess his mother have always endeavoured to render him, to the honour of God and to the benefit of his subjects. With this opportunity for writing to the Cardinal, will not omit to tell him how much he was pleased to hear of the protection so warmly conceded by him to the Captain Ormanetto, the brother of Messer Nicolò, in conformity with the other favours and kindnesses hitherto conceded him. Pole being satisfied to the uttermost with the services of Messer Nicolò, cannot but be bound to love, not only him, but all his family for his sake, and to wish them every happiness and advantage.

London, 17th May 1556?†

[Italian.]

* Philippe de Cröy, Duke d'Archeot, Prince de Chimay, had been taken prisoner by the French in August 1553. (See Foreign Calendar under that date, p. 4.)

† No date of time in MS.

1556.

May 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

489. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day the sentence passed on one of the three culprits* lately condemned was carried into effect, it being still doubtful whether the other two [John Daniel and Henry Peckham] will obtain pardon, though this respite is in their favour. The one now executed was once before convicted in the time of Wyatt, under whom he served as captain, and was pardoned, which aggravates his offence (*il suo errore*).

To the list of prisoners a widow woman (*una donna vedova*) has been added, the late Sir — Brocklier's† wife, who, although a gentlewoman, is nevertheless factious, and has a bad name, and lest search should be made for her she determined on flight to avoid imprisonment, and had already set out, but being recognised either at the seaside or on the road she was arrested and brought hither to the Tower, where it is heard that fresh prisoners arrive daily, two more having been taken last night, but not persons of quality, though I am told that in Flanders they have arrested Peter Carew and Dr. Cheke, tutor of the late King Edward, a circumstance which causes universal astonishment, as, according to general report, Carew was the person who in great part revealed the conspiracy; unless these arrests were made on account of religion, with regard to which both one and the other have a very bad name; but the result will verify the fact, as it is supposed they will be sent hither.

Very strict watch is kept round the court and over the city (*per la terra*) by the officials bound by command to perform this service; and the Queen still abstains from appearing in public, not having shown herself even on the very solemn festival of the Ascension. No other facts transpire beyond these arrests, save that the commissioners here continue examining the prisoners with great assiduity.

The fleet has set sail for Portsmouth with the Admiral, but the soldiers on board were few, the rest having been sent on afterwards. The return from Brussels of Lord Paget, which may be called unexpected, has wonderfully comforted the Queen, the King having sent to tell her that at the latest he will be with her by the end of next month, as confirmed by his more recent letters brought to her Majesty subsequently by the courier Francesco Piamontese; so she begins firmly to hope that thus will it be, and they are already providing and preparing somewhat, orders having been given to the persons bound to go and meet his Majesty to put themselves in array, which will now be for the fourth or fifth time. The longer his Majesty delays the greater is the indication that his stay will be the more prolonged, which, to say the truth, is requisite both for the need of this kingdom and its quiet, as likewise for that of the Queen individually.

On the day of Lord Paget's return he had two interviews with the Queen, which lasted upwards of two hours, their business being

* Captain William Staunton; but neither in Machyn (p. 106), nor in the Verney Papers, is any mention made of his having taken part with Wyatt, or of his having been pardoned on a former occasion.

† Query. Sir Walter Bueler, who in October 1552 befriended Elizabeth Tudor. (See Domestic Calendar, p. 45.)

1556.

very private, and on the morrow the aforesaid courier Francesco was very unexpectedly sent back in haste. Many persons believe that this frequent despatch of couriers during the last few months relates not only to the affair of the prisoners,—it being credible that the Queen acquaints her consort with what takes place from day to day, and with the discoveries made, and that this last mission of Francesco in great part concerns Carew and Cheke,—but also another more momentous matter, *and perhaps the one communicated to me heretofore (as written by me to your Serenity) relating to the Lady Elizabeth, which proceeds with very great secrecy.*

They have continued during the present week, few being those in which they omit doing so, to burn male and also female heretics, all of whom, so far from evincing fear of the flames, seek them voluntarily, accusing themselves, and going to make their depositions in person, one of the individuals amongst these last having been a blind man from his birth, and another of his fellow sufferers was 70 years old; proof that the thing (*la cosa*) has taken root, not only with the young, but also with their elders.*

The summaries contained in your Serenity's letters of the 25th and 28th ulto., received at one and the same time, have been communicated, and as usual your Serenity was thanked for them.

London, 19th May 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

May 21.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

490. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the day before yesterday the King of Spain sent the Marquis of Bruges (Berges?) to Queen Maria at Tournai (*Tornaut*), requesting her to be pleased to return hither, both by reason of the Emperor's wish and his own to see her, as also from need of her counsel about several occurrences in these provinces, especially with regard to settling the difficulties respecting the subsidy demanded of them. She replied that being unable in any way to alleviate the Emperor's ordinary indisposition, and the King having many persons to give him counsel, her presence was unnecessary, and even should it be the Emperor's will that she come, she will do so solely for the purpose of making him a visit. According to public report this anger on the part of Queen Maria is great, and arose not only from her having been unable to obtain the town of Mechlin, but because she knows that the King does not choose her by any means to remain in these Provinces. The consequence of these disagreements is that the demand for one per cent. on immoveables and two per cent. on moveables remains undecided, and as many of the King's counsellors urge him not to withdraw it, whilst the States will not consent to it, it seems therefore that the Queen alone is capable of settling so important a matter favourably.

No fresh sign is visible of the departure either of the Emperor for Spain or of King Philip for England, save that the courtiers say it

* The burning at "Stratford-a-Bow" of four men on the 15th May 1556 is recorded by Machyn (p. 105), but he says nothing about the heroic fortitude of the victims here celebrated by the Venetian ambassador.

1556.

will take place next month, that the ships and troops and all things are in readiness, and that the King will be the first to depart, though few persons believe that their Majesties will quit these Provinces at one and the same time, for many essential reasons; so the Emperor will remain, and the preparation of the fleet is for the sole purpose of enabling the King to cross over to England in safety for his coronation (*et che l'apparato dell' armata è solo a fine, che 'l Re sicuramente passi in Inghilterra ad incoronarsi*). The secretary Verzosa, who was sent thither with the despatch and news of the arrest of Carew and Cheke, has returned, as at Calais he found Lord Paget, who took upon himself to execute his entire commission.

The French ambassador presses King Philip to give him a positive reply about the prisoners, and has again received for answer that his Majesty chooses in the first place to hear the intention of the King of France in this matter, which he hopes will be announced to him in the next letters of his ambassador at the French court. *Here they have a firm suspicion that the truce will not last, by reason of the advices received of the proceedings of the French and of the Pope, who seems not only almost to have revoked the mission of Cardinals to the Emperor and King Philip and his most Christian Majesty to treat peace, but also to purpose relieving Sienna, and then to create disturbances in the kingdom of Naples.*

Brussels, 21st May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

491. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday King Philip sent in post to the Pope the Signor Ferrante de Sanguini, his Majesty's agent (*ministro*), and the Pope's nephew, with three commissions, the one to pray him to appease his anger against the Marquis of Sarria, and not revenge himself by causing the Emperor and the King to recall him from his embassy; the other to recommend Marc' Antonio Colonna to him; and the third to tell him openly that his Holiness' proceedings give the King constant cause to suspect that he is not well disposed towards his Majesty and the Emperor, requiring him clearly to declare his intention; and a courier having arrived last night, with the news of the investiture given to the Count of Montorio of the aforesaid Colonna's state, and of his grade, the King despatched another courier to recall Sanguini. *This resolve formed by the Pope, together with other indications received here of his thoughts, cause the Emperor's and the King's couriers to say more freely than ever that their Majesties will be compelled to make a hostile demonstration against him (scopirsi con l'armi contra), lest he choose in his own fashion either to relieve Sienna or to raise disturbances in the kingdom of Naples, and by means of the mission of Cardinal Caraffa demand and obtain from the King of France his protection for the Count of Montorio, and consequently form an alliance with his most Christian Majesty; so it has been treated here to write to the ambassador resident with him accredited by the Emperor and the King to perform an office in this matter in opposition to*

1556.

such negotiation, reminding his Majesty of the observance of the truce. I have also heard that in the same sitting they discussed the propriety of making divers representations to your Serenity and the other Italian potentates, in evidence of the Pope's proceedings, and of the wish on the part of the Emperor and the King to avoid war. A nobleman of these Provinces has been again sent by King Philip to Queen Maria, requesting her to come hither; and this morning his Majesty departed to go and confess and communicate during these Whitsuntide holidays at a monastery two leagues from this town, where he will also amuse himself by hunting, as he did last evening by taking part in a tourney (*torneo*) with many of his most intimate attendants.

Yesterday the Emperor received letters from the King of the Romans and the King of Bohemia, in which they apologize for Maximilian's being unable to come to their Majesties according to the intention announced by him, both from a fresh attack of his illness, and by reason of what they have to treat with the princes of the Empire, owing to the great trouble constantly given by them, and that they anticipate yet greater from the Turks in Hungary. On the day before yesterday there arrived here the Duke of Holstein, brother of the King of Denmark, to pay his respects to the Emperor, having heard of his determination to go to Spain, and to stipulate with King Philip the same obligation that he had with the Emperor to serve him in time of war, and to confirm his stipend; it is also supposed that they will again treat his marriage with the Duchess of Lorraine, as she has no longer hope of having the Duke of Savoy.

Three days ago the Pope's chamberlain, who took the hat to Dr. Groperio at Cologne, came hither to the Nuncio, and told him that although Groperio used fair words to him, giving hope of accepting the dignity sent to him by the Pope, he nevertheless would not do so absolutely, although the Nuncio said lately at their Majesties' courts here that he had already assumed the dignity; and it is supposed that although Groperio says he has written a letter to the Pope assigning the causes which induce him to decline this honour, it is nevertheless possible that, composing as he is certain works on theology and concerning papal authority, he may entertain some opinion contrary to his Holiness.*

Brussels, 23rd May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 23.
Dispacci Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 6. B.

492. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Don Garcilasso [de la Vega] has returned from Naples to avoid the heat. He says the Duke of Alva is confounded by the investiture of Paliano in the person of the Duke, and yet more by

* Cardella (vol. 4, pp. 350, 352) alludes to the contradictory statements of Gropper's biographers, about his acceptance or refusal of the red hat, but gives no hint with regard to the probable cause of its rejection.

1556.

the fortifications which it is intended to erect. He has written to the court about this, and will await a reply before doing anything further. Certain Spaniards of rank now here say that the Duke of Alba does not serve his sovereigns as he ought, as he has a lawsuit here with the Archbishop of Toledo involving a rental of 6,000 crowns.

The Imperial ambassador told a person in his confidence, from whom I had it, that he is certain the King of England will not permit this fortification, and he has asked advice about what he could do to make sure of the safe arrival of the next courier from the Imperial court, as he is afraid his letters may be intercepted.

Rome, 23rd May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 25.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

493. CARDINAL POLE to JOHN III., KING of PORTUGAL.

As the King's ambassador Don Diego Lopes is returning to Portugal, Pole will not omit to pay his respects to his Majesty, and as Lopes will give account of what took place about the Guinea affair, concerning which the King was pleased to write to Pole, he has no occasion to allude to it farther, and it merely remains for him to offer his ready assistance in whatever may be for the King's service, as becoming his great observance and devotion towards him, although this is unnecessary, King Philip and Queen Mary being so closely linked with his Majesty by so many ties.

London, 25th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

494. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the flight of the Duke d'Arschot, the Constable determined to send the Secretary Dardoes (*sic*) to Brussels, to pray the Emperor and King Philip, in the name of his most Christian Majesty, to determine about the release of the prisoners, and to put a fair ransom on the two personages who were reserved, before the expiration of the three months' term, which will end in a fortnight, letting their Majesties know that should this matter meet with any further delay or other difficulties, his most Christian Majesty would be compelled to believe that with regard to the execution of the other articles of the truce their Majesties' mind was in like manner insincere, wherefore he would also form fresh projects (*farebbe novi pensieri*) for the benefit of his affairs. After the departure of this secretary, his most Christian Majesty being on his way to supper one evening, allusion was made to the Duke d'Arschot's escape, which the King resents greatly, it seeming to him that his honour is at stake (*parendoli esser stato come punto nell' honore*); and when speaking about what the Secretary Dardoes (*sic*) might effect, his Majesty said aloud, "Unless they give me back the prisoners according to their promise, I in like manner shall seek my own advantage in the observance of the rest of the truce." These words cause great talk of war at the court, as hitherto there is very little hope of the release of the prisoners.

1556.

The last advices from Rome announce the intended departure of Cardinal Caraffa on the 18th, as also the creation of the new Duke of Paliano, and the Count di Bagno, concerning which, from what I have been enabled to elicit on good authority, the Pope's design is to add to this state of Paliano some territory thereabouts belonging to the Church to strengthen the duchy, and together with the advantage and security thus obtained for his family, and to remove the impediments which might injure the Caraffas (che gli potessero nocere), he wishes to put it under the protection of the King of France, who will grant it the more willingly, as at small cost he will have a strong frontier in his hands towards the kingdom of Naples, and the Pope will separate his own acquisitions from the rest of the Church strongholds (dal suo verrà a separare il resto delle forze della chiesa), giving his most Christian Majesty also no little addition to his other forces in Italy; and for these reasons chiefly has his Holiness determined to send Cardinal Caraffa, that he may enter into close negotiations. No one at this court believes him to have the slightest thought of peace.

Melun, 26th May 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

May 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

495. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Francesco Piamontese, who left Brussels on the 23rd, returned to-day, and from the report made by him by word of mouth, he heard that Carew and Cheke, who were arrested, had been sent on hither; but he did not fall in with them on the way, as might have been expected, he having come postwise, and all three travelling the same road. Notwithstanding this, it is reported at the Court that they will be here to-morrow, in which case the true cause of their arrest, which has hitherto remained secret and doubtful, will be ascertained.

Their arrest has been followed here by that of Lord Thomas Howard,* who on the morning before last, Whit-Sunday, was sent to "the Fleet," being arrested at the palace of the guard, in the presence of the whole Court, there having been released from that same prison a few days previously, and restored to their full liberty, two of those cavaliers who were confined there.† This Lord Thomas was the brother of the late Earl of Surrey [the poet], and the younger son of the late Duke of Norfolk,‡ of a most ancient and noble family, of those best deserving of their sovereigns, and he is

* Thomas Howard, second son of Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk. In the "Additions" to "Queen Jane and Queen Mary" (Camden Society Publication, p. 187), it is shown that Lord Thomas Howard was on the proposed "bounty list" in favour of persons who had espoused the cause of Queen Mary against Wyatt. On the 13th January 1559, Queen Elizabeth created Lord Thomas Howard Viscount Bindon. (See Burke's "Extinct Peerages," p. 275.)

† See before, date 5 May.

‡ Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, died at Kenning Hall in Norfolk on the 26th August 1554. His son, Henry Earl of Surrey, the poet, was beheaded in January 1547, and his son Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was twenty years of age in 1556. (See Collins, vol. i. pp. 96, 98, and Nott's Memoirs of Surrey, p. ciii.)

1556.

supposed to be deeply implicated. It had been generally supposed from the beginning that he would be sent to prison by reason of his intimacy with the conspirators, and because one of the three last executed had been his servant and pupil.*

The French ambassador M. de Noailles took leave of the Queen yesterday, as for many months, subsequent, however, to the discovery of the conspiracy, he has most earnestly requested his King to recall him hence, for the removal simultaneously of the suspicions and accusations to which he will be hourly subjected, through the examinations of the conspirators, and to avoid any dishonour, from which he has indeed had a very narrow escape, for from what I hear there was a debate and decision in the Privy Council as to whether by proceeding against him individually as a plotter (machinatore) and contriver (insidiatore) against the state and person of the sovereign with whom he resides, the "jus gentium" would thus be violated; but to avoid coming to open hostilities at the present moment and under existing circumstances, it seems that the ministry has not chosen to proceed further; dissembling their indignation and consigning the affair to silence, for the present, perhaps in conformity with the will and command of the most Serene King.

There will remain here in his stead as agent a brother of his, a Councillor [of the Parliament] of Bordeaux, who was sent lately for this purpose from France, until the arrival of the other brother, the Prothonotary, destined a long while ago for the embassy in ordinary.

The Portuguese ambassador resident here also took leave last week; it sufficing his King to make use of the one who resides at Brussels, as by following King Philip hither he will simultaneously serve the Queen, the return of whose consort will (it is confirmed) take place at the time last appointed.

I am told that her Majesty has invited and entreated the Emperor to grant her the favour of an interview when passing the British Channel on his voyage to Spain, it being her intention to go down to the seaside that he may do so with less inconvenience.

London, 26th May 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

May 27.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

496. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor has sent for his most serene son, who was at Laura (*sic*), whither he went to confess and communicate, and to pass these holydays hunting; and the object of this call is supposed to be that they may discuss together the important advices received from Rome, *about the acts and designs of the Pope, concerning whom the chief ministers here use the most*

* "*Servitor et allievo.*" The three last political executions seem to have been those of Throckmorton and Uvedale on the 28th April, and of Staunton on the 19th May. I am unable to ascertain which of these persons had been the dependant of Lord Thomas Howard.

1556.

abusive language possible, and have twice debated in council whether they should desire the Duke of Alva to march with the greatest number of troops he can muster to prevent the erection of fortresses in the state which until now belonged to Marc' Antonio Colonna, lest they become not only a fresh bulwark and frontier against the kingdom of Naples for the service of the most Christian King, but the chief cause of any reverse to which King Philip might be subjected in that kingdom. Some of the members proposed sending this order, and the majority would have wished the Duke to execute it as of his own accord; but they came to the conclusion that it would be better to send two ambassadors to his Holiness, to see whether by acts of humility (*officij di humiltà*) it be possible to deter him from those projects which they understand he is forming to the detriment of the Emperor and the King, and in order better to discover the object of his intention; and should his replies show it to be evil, they will then protest to him that not only in all the states of King Philip will they withdraw the obedience to his Holiness, and create a patriarch in Spain, but attack in all possible ways with an armed force. The ambassadors mentioned for this mission are the Italian Regent of Milan and the Spanish Duke of Medina Celi, or Count Chinchon.

It is generally believed at these courts, and it has been said to me by some of the chief ministers, that the Pope would never have dared to make his nephew Duke of Paliano, or to speak so violently against the Emperor and King Philip, had he not formed some secret league with his most Christian Majesty and others. Those who suspected your Serenity of some private understanding have been undeceived by me in the most distinct and loving terms that could be desired by you, as I assured everybody that you will always maintain a constant friendship with their Majesties, as has been the case hitherto, and that you honour and respect them to the utmost, as becoming. This, by reason of your Serenity's proceedings, has been fully credited by certain well-affected and prudent persons, including a doctor in the confidence of Don Juan Manrique, a member of the privy council, and he told me he knew I should be spoken to about a very important matter, which according to his belief might be for the mutual benefit of their Majesties and of your Serenity, and that the proposal might be reasonably desired and accepted by the Signory by reason of the manifest advantage which it promises. I replied in general and loving terms, and although he did not come to further particulars, I think I understood his meaning to be a defensive league, offering terms which he expected your Serenity to accept. In case of my being spoken to on this subject I shall keep to general replies, according to what I believe to be the Signory's intention, always speaking kindly, and giving your Serenity minute account of everything.

Yesterday the Emperor sent the harbingers to prepare his lodgings at Ghent, into which city he purposes making his entry on St. John's day, they being also ordered to provide apartments for the ambassadors. He has also sent Don Luis de Caravajal, who commands certain ships, to make a fresh choice of the one on board

1556.

of which his Majesty is to embark, having heard that the one destined for him is not suited to his purpose.

Subsequently M. de Buren [Maximilian, Count d'Egmont], admiral of these seas, and M. d'Andelot, one of his Majesty's chamberlains, were sent by him to superintend the execution of all his commands, and from what I hear there are some 50 ships in readiness, for which they have sent from Antwerp a quantity of guns, military stores, and provisions. The troops which the Count of Nassau went to raise in Friesland to be put on board these ships are said to be 20 companies (*bandiere*), in addition to which there will be 10 companies of certain soldiery called here Walloons, and 500 Germans to be taken to Spain to work the new silver mines, besides the 1,200 Spaniards who came with the ships from Biscay.

*This mode of proceeding on the part of the Pope, and the result to be feared from it, make some persons marvel greatly, considering the detriment which it may cause his most serene son, at the Emperor's choosing to cross to Spain, as he says he will, and thus deprive himself and King Philip of such benefit as might accrue to them by his employing the Imperial authority in Germany to keep the Pope more to his duty (per contener più in officio di Pontifice); and being unable to imagine that the Emperor really means to depart, they infer that the object of all he says and does is to favour the King's journey to England for the purposes desired by them.**

Brussels, 27th May 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

May 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

497. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday Don Bernardino de Mendoza came to me and commenced discussing the present proceedings and future designs of the Pontiff, which according to his belief would cause great trouble, not only to Italy, but to all Christendom, saying that as I was your Serenity's representative, and his personal acquaintance since many years, he would communicate to me a thing of great moment, known at these courts (as he believed) solely to the Emperor and the King, and to the members of the privy council, namely, that a league had been concluded and signed between his Holiness, the most Christian King, the Duke of Ferrara, and the Switzers, with the obligation to deposit 1,200,000 crowns either in Venice or Rome, 400,000 of which to be contributed by the Pope, 600,000 by the King of France, and 200,000 by the Duke. Some of their proposals were to the effect that, amongst them all, an army was to take the field and commence the war at such time and in such place as the Pope shall choose, and that should their projects be realized, Sienna was to be under the protection of the Church, the Pope being then empowered to appoint one of his nephews its governor; Florence was to return to its former republican rule, Piombino to be restored to its lord,† and

* A fine di favorir l'andata del Re in Anglia per gli effetti desiderati.

† Giacomo Appiano. (See Sir William Hackett's Index, Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558.)

1556.

Genoa to remain as a free republic, and not dependent on the Emperor, and the King, accepting (accettando) a French ambassador; that an Italian duke was to be placed in Milan, but before appointing him, certain conveniences and advantages derived from the said state were to be had by the Duke of Ferrara and the Switzers (ma far innanzi sentir alcuni commodi et utili al Duca di Ferrara et Svizzeri, tratti da esso stato), the which Switzers to be given 100,000 crowns before sending their troops to serve the league; that the kingdom of Naples be given to the second son of his most Christian Majesty, with the obligation to increase the stief of the Church by 500,000 crowns rental (con obbligo di accrescer il feudo alla Chiesa di 500 mille scudi di entrata), and not to interfere in the collation of benefices, freeing the feudatories there from divers exactions (angarie), and providing moreover for an annual rental of 300,000 crowns in that kingdom for the Count of Montorio, and of 15,000 to be derived from church benefices for Cardinal Caraffa.

In this league place is also reserved enabling your Serenity to join it, with a promise that should Sicily be obtained, it be understood to be yours (che essendo della Sicilia fatto acquisto, ella se intenda esser suo), his most Christian Majesty binding himself to defend his Holiness, his nephews, and the See Apostolic against any potent prince, be he who he may (contro qualsivoglia potente principe); the Pope, however, not being bound to take part in the affairs relating to the Duke of Savoy.

Don Bernardino then told me that what the Pope did against Mare' Antonio Colonna, and what he intended doing against Paolo Giordano Orsini and other feudatories of the Church, was to rid his mind of them (per levarseli de sui pensieri), and that should the Imperialists choose to defend them, and forbid the mission of delegates into the kingdom of Naples, and his Holiness demand French assistance there, in that case his most Christian Majesty, both because he had made this league (so long back as the 17th of October last, Mendoza said) before concluding the truce, and from having named the Pope therein, and under pretence (sotto noine) of aiding the See Apostolic, might effect a rupture with the Emperor and the King, who therefore, were they not to resist, would thus leave his Holiness to put all Italy in confusion, and expel Spain for the purpose of introducing France; so it seemed desirable to him for me to write to your Serenity, that by reason of your extreme prudence you should provide against the great evils which might occur, and that as you had no claims to urge against the King of Spain nor his Majesty against your Serenity, it would be well to make a defensive league in all of the common States, or in part of them, according to your pleasure; and at this part of his discourse, rising from the place where he was seated, he stood up and uttered with earnestness the following precise words:—"Now, lord ambassador, let us unite these princes of ours, as I pledge my faith to you that in taking this resolve the most illustrious Signory will find in King Philip a perpetual good disposition and fidelity in performing whatever he promises and binds himself to, in such wise that his Serenity would have cause to remain satisfied;" adding that he

1556.

left to you to consider what friendly neighbours the French usually prove themselves (et che a lei lasciava il considerare che amici sogliono esser Francesi quando sono vicini), and that although the Pope appears to be your Serenity's friend, he, Mendoza, nevertheless knows that since a long while his Holiness is not well disposed towards you, and, putting his hand to his forehead, he said that one of the chief things which weighed upon the papal brow was to see you in possession of certain places on the mainland (et mettendosi una mano sopra gli occhi, disse, che una delle principali cose che le pesava era il veder che ella possedesse alcuni luoghi in terra ferma che possiede).

I thanked his lordship extremely for his courteous visit, and for the great praise bestowed by him in the course of his conversation on your Serenity, as also for the confidential communication made by him to me about everything, which loving mode of proceeding was, I said, in conformity with the goodness of his nature, and with the good opinion which your Serenity had always entertained of his great ability (*molto valore*) and regard for your interests, as demonstrated by him everywhere, and lately by the loving offers made to your secretary at Milan. I then said that I knew your Serenity's bias towards the Emperor and King Philip to be as good as it could be towards the best of friends, and that when you said you loved, your love was eternal (*et che quando ella dice di amare ama per sempre*), because you love wisely, like their Majesties here, by reason of their many great virtues, and the multitude of their other truly royal parts (*conditioni*), as also from having known that they amply reciprocated your sentiments; and that I hoped that this reciprocal friendship, and the reverence and respect on the part of your Serenity, would continue to be of such a sort as to prove by facts that you would never jill up that void which he told me had been left for you as a party to the league; telling him, in short, that I considered it certain, not only that you would not join it, but that no thought of doing so had ever entered your mind, as I knew, on the contrary, that in like manner as all their Majesties' successes had caused you satisfaction, so had their reverses distressed you; and I added divers other assurances, calculated to rid him of the slightest suspicion in case his lordship should have come purposely to tell me the contents of the treaty, in order to elicit what I knew about your Serenity's intention in the matter of this league, as in fact, since the Pope's undisguised abuse of their Majesties, when conversing with any of the members of the Privy Council, I perceived a sort of suspicion that unless the Pope had your Serenity's support he would not act as he does against the Emperor and his son.

I am very glad to have, as it were, convinced him by my assurances, for the ministers here do by me what they are not wont to do with regard to other foreign ambassadors, coming familiarly to dine with me, as was the case with Don Ruy Gomez, the King's confessor [Francesco Alfonso de Castro], and other chief personages; Don Ruy Gomez, when I spoke to him lately (as enjoined me by your Serenity) about favouring the Dr. Tornicello and Antonio Brutti of Daleigno, having promised to despatch their business in

1556.

the best possible manner, assuring me that for the future the demands made by me in your Serenity's name would be expedited more favourably and honourably than hitherto, owing to the carelessness of the ministry, and that he would always be the instrument for establishing a true and permanent union between his King and your Serenity, and from his knowledge of my sincere mode of proceeding, he considered it certain that I should do the like; telling me in conclusion that his Majesty would send a new ambassador to Venice, the one now there having demanded his recall, and that a gentleman of great condition would be sent, as your Serenity deserves; and when I commended the gravity of Don [Francisco] de Vargas,* and said how acceptable he was to the Signory, by reason of his great discretion, Don Ruy Gomez replied that he knew the King of his goodness would reward him.

Brussels, 29th May 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

May 30.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

498. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In conformity with what was written by me about the Duke of Paliano, I receive assurance from several quarters that in the treaty of truce between these Majesties, there being a clause which authorises either of the parties, within three months from the time of its signature, to include, besides the adherents already specified, such others as the said Princes shall think fit; his most Christian Majesty, before the expiration of that term, nominated the Count of Montorio and the Pope's whole family; *in addition to this it seems to be likewise confirmed that his most Christian Majesty had previously conceded him his protection; the which two facts are said to have been accomplished (li qual doi effetti si dice esser stati fatti), because the Pope, having to create the Count, Duke of Paliano as he did, and the Duke choosing to fortify Paliano and Rocca di Papa, the Imperialists may be incapacitated from preventing him without breaking the truce; and that should they disturb his operations, the King of France must defend him.*

The Abbot of San Saluto arrived here lately to transact some business of his own, with the intention also of waiting for Cardinal Caraffa and then proceeding to Rome. He paid his respects to his most Christian Majesty and to the Constable, both of whom did him much honour; *and being persuaded by the Constable to say something to the Imperial ambassador, who is much his friend, about this release of prisoners, and to do his utmost to discover his mind, he did so, having spoken to him and rejoined several times (havendo più fiate parlato et risposto); and from what he told me he found the Imperialists well inclined, adding that their need is such that provided this side do not trouble them, there is no doubt whatever of their observing the truce; and in a long conversation with me the Abbot evinced a suspicion that this side will very soon wage*

* For the christian name of this ambassador, see Sir William Hackett's Index to Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558.

1556.

war; for he said to me that should these French be able to obtain the release of the prisoners it would not please them, as wishing for a rupture, they are content that the world should believe the non-restitution of the prisoners to be the cause of their breaking the truce; and he put before me the discovery of the attempt on Vercelli, adding, "Had it succeeded would it not have been a fine excuse to make to everybody that as the Imperialists did not restore the prisoners, the King also should attend to his own advantage." In short it seemed to me to comprehend that he believes everything to have proceeded from the Pope's constant intrigues to thwart these adjustments (finalmente mi parve di comprendere che tutto vi si esistimasse da lui, per li officij che continuamente ha fatto far il Pontefice per disturbare questi appuntamenti); and above all, that having hitherto merely given the King hope of doing great things, and having come to this fact of Paliano, he by positive deeds has proved his will (animo) by giving into the hands of his most Christian Majesty a strong frontier against the kingdom of Naples (una gagliarda frontiera al Regno di Napoli).

The Imperial ambassador came subsequently to visit me, and discussing these same matters, I discovered that he also was much troubled by this doubt lest the truce be broken, and it seemed to me to comprehend that it all proceeded from the coming hither of Cardinal Caraffa (et mi parve di comprendere che tutto procedesse dalla venuta qui del Cardinale Caraffa); and from one word to another he went so far as to say, "Rest assured, ambassador, that if the French wish for peace it is in their hands, nor will I deny that my King has perhaps the greater need of it; but considering the interests of both sides, I find that the advantage to be derived from peace will perhaps prove equal; and to produce this effect nothing is wanting but a good mediator, for it does not seem either fair or hardly possible that the Princes in person should declare themselves; nor for this would there be any better instrument than the Pontiff, provided he choose to act with the fear of God before his eyes; and should this ambassador [the Legate Caraffa] be the bearer in fact of what is said to be the cause of his coming, I think I can affirm that he will have the honour of accomplishing it; though on the other hand, should personal affections (proprii affetti) prove a more powerful motive than the benefit of Christendom, we shall certainly have war." For my own part the slight knowledge I have of this court does not make me view things in so hopeless a light, and indeed I am of opinion that should the prisoners be released, there will be no danger of disagreement (*disparere*) at present, everybody evincing a great wish for quiet, and they are disarming in all quarters, both galleys, cavalry, and infantry.

Morette, 30th May 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pusini.]

May 30.
Dispauci Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 6. B.

499. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Tuesday chapel was held for the anniversary of the Pope's coronation, to which all the cardinals and ambassadors were invited,

1556.

as also to dine with his Holiness afterwards.* Amongst the rest there came the English and Portuguese ambassadors, who have a dispute about precedence, so when the Pope came down to array himself in the pontifical habits, the master of the ceremonies, to prevent any disturbance, said to him "Holy Father, it would be well to put an end to the competition between England and Portugal before going into chapel, lest in the presence of such a crowd they do something unbecoming." The Pope got into a rage instantly, and having called the Duke of Paliano,† said to him, "Make those ambassadors go away; or have them put in the castle, for we will not put up with these indignities. We are not Paul the Third, who tolerated Don Diego, whom we would forthwith have imprisoned in the castle." The Duke announced the Pope's will to the ambassadors, and they departed.

After the mass and dinner, the Pope withdrew with the cardinals and us ambassadors into the audience chamber, and amongst various topics of conversation said that of his courtesy, and not indeed from any obligation, he was giving notice to the Powers, of the Council, which he purposes holding here in Rome; and that should no other prelates come, he will hold it with those on the spot, as they well know the authority he has. Then at about 4 p.m., the aldermen (*caporioni*) having got together all the ordinance of this city at the Campidoglio, commenced their march and went over Ponte St. Angelo to Borgo, to St. Peter's Square, making a very fine show, and remaining there until the harquebusiers had given the Pope two salutes. According to report, they are in number 7,000, including 1,000 cuirassiers (*corsaletti*), but the Duke told me they were 5,000, and moreover the "*Collateral General*" said that were the bad troops cashiered there would remain but 5,000 (*che quando bisognasse cussare i tristi non resteriano 5 mille*).

The Bishop of Agram (*Zagabria*) who came hither from the King of the Romans, to ask assistance for Hungary, is departing very dissatisfied, having had for reply from the Pope that he is sending the Legates to stipulate the peace between the Kings of France and England, and when it is concluded, an attack will be made on the Turk, and thus Hungary and other provinces be released from slavery; and a person who had it from the lips of Don Diego la Chaux? (*Lasso*) (*sic*) (the agent of the King of the Romans) told me that before arriving at this reply the Pope narrated to him the birth, education, and all the virtues and valour of Cardinal Caraffa, with every particular, even down to his nurse, and then gave a similar biography of the Cardinal of Pisa,‡ the discourse being so long, that Don Diego, who is a feeble diminutive hunchback (*un gobetto debole*), being unable any longer to keep on his legs, well nigh fell to the ground, and was forced to go out of the room to rest. I have chosen

* Compare what follows with Carne's account of the same circumstance in Foreign Calendar, 9th June 1556, p. 228.

† Giovanni Caraffa, Count of Montorio, was made Duke of Paliano on the Sunday preceding the 16th May, as stated in a despatch from Navagero, which I did not think it necessary to calendar.

‡ Scipione Rebiba, translated from Motula to Pisa, and who was on his way as legate to King Philip.

1556.

to mention these details, that your Serenity may see how the Pope, when unwilling to reply to any proposal, goes wandering to avoid a positive refusal.

The Rev. Comendone, Bishop of Zante, who accompanies the Cardinal of Pisa, and will remain as Nuncio in England, departed for Padua on the day before yesterday, to see his kinsfolk before quitting Italy.

Rome, 30th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 30.
Dispaeci Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7. B.

500. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and COUNCIL of TEN.

Cardinal Cornaro has told me that Cardinal Farnese, talking confidentially with him, said he knew for certain that the intention of Cardinal Caraffa is to place himself entirely in the hands and at the disposal (*et nel voler*) of the most Christian King, to whom he will offer the Pope himself, and his whole family, with all their dependants in the kingdom [of Naples]. He will demonstrate of what importance the investiture of the new duchy in the person of his brother is, reminding the King, that to maintain and defend the Duke is the way to gain the kingdom of Naples; and moreover that a treaty is on foot to make the Cardinal of Ferrara* successor to the present Pope in case of his death; as will be proposed to his Majesty by Cardinal Caraffa, in order yet more to obtain his favour; so that after the demise of this one he may be sure to have an Italian Pope, after his own fashion, of might and authority (*dì autorità et di forze*). The Cardinal of Ferrara has written to the King to gratify and oblige Cardinal Caraffa, by giving him all his (Ferrara's) benefices, as he will be very glad of it (*che ne sarà molto contento*). This negotiation has been set on foot by Cardinal Sermoneta,† who is under great obligations to the Cardinal of Ferrara, and much the friend of Cardinal Caraffa; and to facilitate its execution, the Pope promised Caraffa before his departure to have a dozen cardinals (*dì haver una dozana de Cardinali*), all of whom were not only to be of the French faction, but dependent on Cardinal Caraffa, so that he might command and turn them to any side he pleased. Cardinal Cornaro told me besides that this was confirmed to him by the Cardinal "Camerlengo" [Guido Ascanio Sforza]; and that both one and the other of these Cardinals [Farnese and Sforza] evinced great dissatisfaction; requesting me to write this to a secret quarter (*in loco secreto*).

Rome, 30th May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May 31.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian

501. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the Emperor received two separate couriers, sent by the King of the Romans. The one, as told me by King Philip's

* Ippolito d'Este. (*See Cardella*, vol. 4, pp. 209, 212.)

† Niccolò Gaetani, of the Ducal family of Sermoneta, made Cardinal by Paul III., 22nd December 1536, at the age of 12 years. (*See Cardella*, vol. 4, p. 197.) He was protector of Scotland at the time of Queen Mary's imprisonment, and provided largely for Scottish and other Catholics, who emigrated to Rome on account of religious persecution.

1556.

confessor [Francesco Alfonso de Castro], brings news *that the Pope has said he will hold a Lateran Council* (un Concilio Latterano), *summoning all the Princes of Christendom to his presence, to deprive the Emperor and the said King of the Romans of their dignities, because at the last Diet of Augsburg concerning the matter of religion, the King consented that Germany should live according to the Confession of Augsburg, and to this resolution the Emperor submitted* (havendo sua Maestà nell' ultima Dicta di Augusta acconsentito in materia della religione che la Germania vivi secondo la confessione Augustana, et la Cesarea soportata la deliberatione). The other courier's letters announce that the King of Bohemia and the Queen his consort have quite determined to come to their Majesties, and are expected here in three weeks.

The Emperor immediately on receiving these despatches, *and hearing the Pope's resolve to send commissioners into the kingdom of Naples, gave signs of the most violent rage* (fece segni della maggior alteratione di animo che dar si possa), and forthwith ordered the King and his counsellors to assemble in his Imperial Majesty's own chamber to consult (as they have already done several times) about the expedients to be adopted in these matters. From what Don Bernardino de Mendoza has told me, the first was that the Emperor do suspend his departure for Spain, the King doing the like with regard to England; and to-day several officials who were sent to Ghent and Zealand to make the necessary arrangements have been recalled. I heard subsequently that M. de Lalain and the president Viglius were sent yesterday to the French ambassador to assure him positively in their Majesties' names that the prisoners shall be indubitably released as soon as the commissioners who came hither for the purpose shall fix their ransoms; in addition to which, they requested him to write to his most Christian Majesty that in like manner as the Emperor and King Philip, let happen what may, will not fail in the promise given by them to observe the truce, so may it please his Majesty to be content not to take under his protection those who seek to disturb it, and to give especial trouble to the Emperor and his Son. Yesterday they also sent one of the two couriers to the King of the Romans and of Bohemia, nor is it known for what particular purpose; *but the chief ministers, who a few days ago were heard to say that there was a bad understanding between the King of the Romans and the Emperor, now express hopes that the Pope, thinking to do their Majesties harm, will make them become friends, and their sons also.*

Several letters and messengers-express have also been sent to Germany to know for what purpose certain free towns in Swabia especially are raising horse and foot; Augsburg having sent eight companies and 1,000 horse with Sebastian Sentilin towards Donavert, and being unable to learn from their chiefs on whose account they were mustered, he attacked and routed them, with some loss to himself. The postmaster has received advices, which he took to the Emperor, purporting that a report circulated in those parts that these troops were raised by the King of Spain, some persons saying that it was for the purpose

1556.

of going to have himself crowned in England, and others that by these means he meant secretly to receive the Emperor's renunciation of the Empire (*et chi perchè voleva secretamente con tal modo riceverla rinuntia dall' Imperator dell' Imperio*); notwithstanding which, it is said that at the request of the King of the Romans, made by Baron Poibaler (*sic*),* part of these troops were raised for Hungary; and other neighbouring towns hearing subsequently of the troops raised by Augsburg near Donavert, everybody commenced recruiting. The Emperor has also heard that Herbroth (*sic*), who caused Augsburg to detach itself from the Emperor in the time of Maurice, has gone to reside with the Elector Palatine, *both of them daily circulating reports very prejudicial to the Emperor; and here they are somewhat disturbed by the ill-will which the said Elector bears the whole house of Austria.*

During the last three days a courier has had his foot in the stirrup to go to the Duke of Alva, and this delay proceeds from the great diversity of opinions as to whether instructions should be given to the Duke not only not to receive but to punish the commissioners whom the Pope says he will send into the kingdom of Naples, and to go and prevent the fortifications which the Duke of Paliano is raising, or whether the ambassadors already destined for his Holiness should be despatched; and it was debated whether it would be well to send the Bishop of Arras alone to the Pope, to deter him from these proceedings, and if unable to obtain this, that he should then demand a fresh audience in consistory, and there declare war against him; but they were informed by the Bishop that by reason of his grade he was by law incapacitated from performing such an office against his Holiness, who would not admit him, and that he should indeed receive punishment at his hands; and in the council he suggested sending King Philip's maggiordomo Don Diego de Azevedo.

Signor Ferrante di Sanguini has told me with great sorrow that he was recalled when on his way to the Pope, because the ministers suspected that going through France he might meet Cardinal Caraffa, to whom he is related, and communicate his commission to him, and that by reason of the wavering and feeble counsel which his Majesty received many inconveniences were seen to arise; but that he hoped that the Emperor (who knew better how devoted he was), having again turned his attention to public business (*già che tornava ad intender li negotij*), would soon have him sent to his Holiness.

When I went to return the visit of Don Bernardino de Mendoza he repeated all that he had said, again exhorting me to write what was notified by me in my foregoing, saying he expected some reply, and that their Majesties' ambassador at Venice will then be instructed to discuss the details; telling me besides that they had made choice of him to speak to me on this subject, because he professed to know and eulogize the grandeur of the most Serene Republic, and to have the Signory's interests at heart by reason of the many courtesies received from a great number of very illustrious

* Baron Nicolas de Polweyler? (See Correspondenz des Kaisers, Karl V., by Dr. Karl Lanz, vol. 3, p. 627.)

1556.

senators during his residence at Venice, and that henceforth he would acquaint me with all the thoughts and resolves of the Emperor and the King, that your Serenity might be privy to them, and that the Duke of Alva had been charged always to give account to you of everything. I thanked his Lordship in loving and general terms for this kind mode of proceeding, using the same expressions as on the former occasion, adding, however, that as he wished me to do so I would write the whole to your Serenity.

That intimate friend of Don Juan Manrique about whom I wrote heretofore has again spoken to me about the alliance (unione) which the members of the privy council wish the King to make with your Serenity, telling me in very strong language (con rissolutissime parole) that he was come to let me know, but chose me to receive the whole as in the confessional, that should the King know that he could form a perpetual league with your Serenity, you might do precisely whatever you pleased with the affairs of Italy, using the phrase "as a good and discreet son does by a good and sage father." My informant added, that should it ever be known that he had confided in me it would ruin him completely, and that he intrusted his honour to that faith which he had always placed in me as a true nobleman, not considering himself as addressing the ambassador; so I beseech your Serenity to have such silence enjoined as usual with regard to matters the most secret.

The King is indisposed and has been blooded, but the malady is not considered important.

Brussels, 31st May 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 31.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

502. CARDINAL POLE to BISHOP VIDA [Marco Girolamo Vida of Cremona,* Bishop of Alba on the Tanaro].

Has lately received Vida's two printed books, one [copy]† of

* The birthplace of Bishop Vida is alluded to in Pope's Essay on Criticism (verses 205-208), as follows:

"Immortal Vida! on whose honoured brow
The poet's bays and critic's ivy grow;
Cremona now shall ever boast thy name
As next in place to Mantua, next in fame."

† These two books, in one small octavo volume, published at Cremona, "*in civitatis palatio*," were addressed to Cardinal Pole in the year 1556, thus—

M. Hier. Vidæ.
De Dignitate Reipublicæ
seu civilis societatis ad
Reginandum Polum Cardinalem.

The author advocates a republican form of government, his arguments being confuted by Flaminio, a confidant of Pole, who, together with his fellow cardinals Monte and Marcello Cervini, and Monsignor Luigi Priuli, are represented as being present at the disputation which is supposed to have been held in a villa beyond the Porta Santa Croce at Trent, which had been lent to Vida by the Prince Bishop Madrucci at the time of the Council of Trent in the year 1545. Monte, Pole, Cervini, and Priuli are made to speak occasionally, and the following words are attributed to Pole:—

"Vix exprimere valeam, quanto stomacho audire, aut legere soleo, Christiani hominis poemata, in quibus ubique Joves, Veneres, Saturnos, Castores, Polluces et id genus nugas auribus meis inculcant, præter fabellas, et molliculas plenasque libidinum, et titillationum omnis generis narrationes: tu quoque, Vida, visus es mihi aliquando via comuni ingredi," etc.

1556.

which, as ordered, has been given to the Queen, who seemed pleased with it, and availing himself of this opportunity Pole spoke to her Majesty about Vida and his rare qualities. This publication will gratify many persons whose wish was greater than their hope of seeing him soon continue and complete his great work in six books;* as these [last] two may possibly increase the wish for the others. Prays God to grant him also time and opportunity thus to satisfy the great expectation to which his deserts have with reason given rise. Pole will be the more glad to read them as when doing so he shall fancy himself in his presence conversing with him, which always gave and gives Pole so much delight, both as an acknowledgment of Vida's eminent virtues, and of the benevolent affection always evinced by him towards Pole. Will say nothing farther about his own condition, referring himself to Monsignor Priuli. Recommends himself most lovingly to Vida, offering him his services, and praying God to remove all the impediments which prevent him from returning to tend his flock in person.

London, 31st May 1556.

[*Italian.*]

May ? †
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

503. CARDINAL POLE to [Pier Francesco Agugliano] BISHOP of PISTOIA.

Has received his letter dated the 1st of January, requesting information from him about Messer Mariano Vittorio, concerning whom Pole wrote to the Bishop of Pistoia heretofore, requesting him to propose a person capable of bearing the burden of that see, for which Agugliano purposed electing a suffragan.

Pole continues to have the same good opinion of Vittorio as he then expressed, and indeed the more he has associated with him the more is he confirmed in his belief that Vittorio is capable of bearing such a burden, and worthy of it. Prays God to move Agugliano to make such choice either of Vittorio or of others as may prove most to the services of His Divine Majesty, of the Bishop's flock, and of his lordship himself. Is glad to hear that the reverend friar Reginald is with him, being certain, as said by the Bishop, that by his learning and piety he will be of great assistance to him. Recommends himself to his prayers, and rejoices greatly to perceive the maintenance and increase of that piety with which he has always known Agugliano to be endowed.

London, May 1556?

[*Italian.*]

June 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

504. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the King told me that Cardinal Caraffa embarked on the 21st ulto., and was bringing with him Paolo Giordano Orsini, the

* "*Christiados libri sex.*" Cremona, 1535. I am unable to find any notice of a sequel to the six books of the "*Christiados.*" Two editions of Vida's poems were printed at Oxford in 1722-1723, and the tribute rendered by Pope at that same period to their author is now seen to have been anticipated by Vida's contemporary Cardinal Pole, in 1556.

† No date of time in MS.

1556.

destined son-in-law of the Duke of Florence, and who has now been persuaded to change his mind, and to become the adherent of his most Christian Majesty; and he said to me laughing, "It would indeed have been a pity that an Orsini, and most especially this one also, who is the head of that family, should not be my friend." He continued that he believed Cardinal Caraffa was already at Marseilles, but that he had so numerous a retinue that, although he was coming postwise, he could not use much speed; and he then said that he understood from Torquato Conte, and secretary Bruchiero, who had arrived from Rome, that the Pope was in such good health, and had become so fat and lusty (*el era fatto così grasso et gagliardo*) as to give promise of his living for many years, and most especially at present from the great joy caused him by the creation of the Duke of Paliano; and he said, "In the treaty of truce I have denominated (*ho denominato*) the Caraffa family, and taken them under my protection, with all their possessions, notwithstanding that at Brussels, in the council of the King of England, it was proposed to prevent the Duke of Paliano from fortifying." I asked his Majesty what news he had of the Emperor. He answered me, "It is rumoured everywhere that he will go to Spain with the queens his sisters, and Queen Eleanor has sent to France to purchase certain things which could not be had in Flanders, and she sent me word that she should go with his Imperial Majesty, apologizing to me for not passing through France on account of the heat of the weather." When I asked the King if the Emperor would live remote from political affairs (*passeria ritirato dalli negotij*), he said "he believed he would no longer transact business, and amongst the other signs which seemed most important was, that it had not been heard that the Bishop of Arras would go with his Imperial Majesty, he being on such bad terms with the King of England that he cannot remain in his service; so if he does not accompany the Emperor, the Emperor will retire from business (*si ritirerà dalli negotij*), and I have desired my ambassador at that court to address himself for all affairs to Don Ruy Gomez, who proves (*riesce*) very gracious and well disposed."

His Majesty then added, "I have heard on good authority that the Emperor on his passage has a mind (*ha animo*) to take with him to Spain Madame Elizabeth, the sister of the Queen of England, giving her to understand that should the Queen not have children, they will marry her to the Prince of Spain [Don Carlos], but this they do to remove her from that kingdom, of which they are endeavouring by all means to make themselves masters, and it continues to be said more than ever that the King will go over with an army (*ch' el Re passerà in quel Regno armato*), to which I perceive many obstacles; for even were he to take with him 10,000 or 12,000 soldiers, they would not suffice to keep all of those devilish souls in order (*a tenere in freno tutti quelli animi indisciplinati*); and I verily believe that for his security there would be no other remedy than to expatriate all the inhabitants of that island and plant a colony there, as the Romans did, nor could he ever trust himself otherwise. Then, as you know, there are no fortresses in that kingdom, and should it be chosen to hold it by force, they must raise some, and in great number, which would require time and enormous expenditure,

1556.

but I do not know whether he will have the means to realize these designs. Nor will I omit telling you that the other day, when Lord Clinton was here, he complained to me that I harboured the Queen's rebels and listened to their proposals, and I answered him that the malcontents of that kingdom were in such number that they had already filled not only France, but the whole of Italy, and that it was true that they came to me and proposed the most extravagant things possible, but that I had never given ear to any of them; and to tell you the truth, ambassador, *I know the English well, and that they are not to be trusted by anyone* (Io conosco bene li Inglesi, et so che non c'è persona che si possi fidare di loro). *I have also heard that in England they plotted (hanno trattato) to make Courtenay go back, but my ambassador at Venice* writes to me that by no means will he go thither.*"

I then asked him the cause of the King of Bohemia's visit to the Emperor, and he replied, "They say it is for his own private affairs, as they have never given him what was promised for his marriage portion (*la sua dote*), it being also his wish to see his Imperial Majesty before he sets sail; though I think that they will again tempt him to renounce the empire (*ma io non mi posso persuadere che non lo tentino di nuovo dalla rinuntia dell' Imperio*)."[†] I asked his Majesty in what state the affair of the prisoners was. He said, "Last evening I received letters from my ambassador with the fairest promises in the world. I believe that at any rate they will release them, but nine days have yet to elapse before the expiration of the three months within which the Emperor promised to set them at liberty, and we will wait to see what will take place, but three of them have been already released, and have even arrived here;" and he again repeated, "As I believe at any rate that they will give the others their liberty, should this prove true, I also will effect whatever I am bound to do, and I have already given orders for some ships captured after the conclusion of the truce to be surrendered, as the King of England also has done the like."

Morette, 1st June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

505. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The number of persons imprisoned increases daily, the arrest of Lord Thomas Howard having been followed by that of Lord La Ware† (Milord Alvard), a person who, although a nobleman, is nevertheless factious and scandalous, having been heretofore deprived of his seat in Parliament as baron for an attempt to poison one of his uncles, for the sake of inheriting from him so much the sooner; wherefore no one is surprised at his having been guilty as

* The Venetian Archives contain no document bearing the name of this ambassador; but by Mr. Turnbull's Calendar it is seen that the French ambassador at Venice on the 20th October 1554 was the Bishop of Lodève; and a subsequent despatch, dated Compiegne 8th July 1557, shows that he was still there at that time.

† See also letter from Balder, date Brussels, 12th May 1556.

‡ "William West, sqwyre, othur-wyse callyd lord La Ware." (See Machyn, p. 109.)

1556.

an associate in the plot. Two other gentlemen were arrested with him and sent together to the Tower, one of them having been a very favourite chamber attendant of King Edward. Two days later Mistress [Katharine] Ashley was taken thither, she being the chief governess of *Miladi* Elizabeth, the arrest, together with that of three other domestics, having taken place in the country, 18 [Venetian?] miles hence, even in the aforesaid *Miladi's* own house [Hatfield], and where she at present resides, which has caused great general vexation.* Amongst the domestics is a certain Battista [Castiglione], an Italian, native of Piedmont, the *Signora's* master for the Italian tongue, and who has been twice before imprisoned on her account,† he being much suspected on the score of religion, as likewise is the governess and all the others. I am told that they have all already confessed to having known about the conspiracy; so not having revealed it, were there nothing else against them, they may probably not quit the Tower alive, this alone subjecting them to capital punishment. This governess was also found in possession of those writings and scandalous books against the religion and against the King and Queen which were scattered about some months ago, and published all over the kingdom; and by reason of her grade with the "*Signora*," who is held in universal esteem and consideration, it is supposed that on this account chiefly Francesco Piamontese was immediately sent back in haste to Brussels, it being credible that nothing is done, nor does anything take place, without having the King's opinion about it, and hearing his will.

Subsequently, yesterday, the two prisoners Carew and Cheke arrived by sea, having been embarked at Flushing, near Antwerp (so it is no wonder the courier Francesco missed them), and on being taken from shipboard they also were conveyed to the Tower. Not only the cause but likewise the fact of the arrest of these two persons has been kept very secret here, and I understand that the most Serene King has complained, and is angry with the provost (*prevosto*) of Vilvorde, who was charged with the arrest, for not having effected it quietly and without noise, as ordered, that it might not be divulged so immediately. *One of the chief members of the Privy Council, who busied himself with this arrest, and was perhaps the author of it, has said that Carew is arrested because being in the company of Cheke, against whom alone the warrant was given, he, together with his servants, chose to resist the provost, which is but slightly verified, he himself not being subsequently released, as his servants were; and indeed this same lord has repeated that as Carew is taken it would be desirable on several accounts to find him guilty of something, to have an opportunity for putting him out of sight, his presence here being of no benefit.*

Three other persons were seized subsequently; having been found secreted in a vessel for the purpose of escaping, and they have moreover arrested an official of the Court, who has the charge of providing cards and dice for gambling there, and the profit derived thence;‡ so that the business of the Lords of the Council with regard to this

* Che è stato di grave molestia di ciascuno.

† See entry No. 80, p. 70, date 15th May 1555.

‡ This person was the groom-porter Lewkner. (See Machyn, p. 103.)

1556.

matter increases daily instead of diminishing. To-day the trial took place of three of those who had an understanding with the conspirators to rob the Exchequer, of which they were officials and administrators, they having been arrested at the beginning, and all of them were convicted and condemned.*

The Queen has already commenced her projects for departure hence, taking the road towards the sea, and has given orders for the furnishing and provisioning of a house belonging to the archbishopric of Canterbury, some 20 miles from London,† where she will remain with Cardinal Pole until further intelligence, his most illustrious Lordship purposing in like manner to send his entire establishment to Canterbury, so that after the arrival of King Philip he may remain there as long as shall be conceded him; nor for anything else does he evince a greater wish than that of being able to live in his [archiepiscopal] residence.

London, 2nd June 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

June 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

506. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has sent a courier to England to the Queen his consort to give her news of his indisposition, and that he felt somewhat better after being blooded, and hoped soon to rise from his bed. He also sent her letters from the King and Queen of Bohemia confirming their speedy arrival, apologising for his inability to go to her at the time appointed, by reason of such great and unavoidable impediments. Three days ago her Majesty also sent him another courier with news of the eight Englishmen lately arrested by her order, telling him, in short, that from the evidence of certain persons she has understood that this plot against their Majesties was so astutely laid that none of the English ministers ever read or remember to have heard of a similar one being formed in that kingdom.

Brussels, 4th June 1556.

[Italian.]

June 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

507. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Secretary Dardois has returned from Brussels. The Emperor and King Philip purpose releasing the prisoners, but as the French lords have never specified what ransom they will pay, their Majesties consent to reduce the 100,000 crowns required for the Duke de Bouillon to 80,000, and will accept 45,000 instead of 60,000 for the Constable's son. He also brought a list of the sums which their Majesties considered fair ransom for all the other prisoners, saying that if they found it unsatisfactory, they were to avail themselves of their rights by offering what they thought suitable, as their Majesties would do justice. In conformity herewith their Majesties' ambas-

* The individuals arraigned at Westminster Hall on the 2nd of June 1556, were Rossey, Bedyll, and Dethick. (See Machyn, p. 107.)

† In Strickland's Mary (p. 562), it is said on the authority of Jane Dormer, that the Queen passed the summer of 1556 in the palace of Croydon, which had been a dower-residence of her mother Katharine of Aragon.

1556.

sador [the Lieutenant d'Amont] went yesterday to the Constable, who stated he desired nothing but observance of the promises; if these were broken, his most Christian Majesty would seek his own advantage; and he went so far with the Imperial ambassador that he considered it certain he should be dismissed within a few days, whence arose his timidity; but the mediation of the Abbot of San Saluto has also greatly soothed the Constable, who yesterday, when giving the said ambassador audience, said his proposal in the name of the Emperor and King Philip was a thing to be accepted, and that he was therefore to go to Paris, where his Majesty would be, and there give him a reply. *The coming of Cardinal Caraffa causes the Imperialists such suspicion as to make them now urge the settlement of this matter, which being known to the Constable, he avails himself of it marvellously.*

Cardinal Caraffa arrived at Marseilles on the 27th ultimo, and was to be to-day at Lyons. His right reverend Lordship will then come to the court, but being lame of one leg (*aggravato d'una gamba*) he will not ride more than three posts each day; and to-morrow the Prince of Salerno will depart, M. de Lansac following him with a numerous company, he being sent by the King to meet the Cardinal, whose colleagues will all go to meet him at one day's journey hence; nor will they fail to show him every other mark of extraordinary honour, the King paying his expenses and those of all his attendants, and it is said they will give him an annual income of 12,000 crowns. The King departs to-morrow for Paris, there to remain until the Cardinal gets near Fontainebleau, whither he will return to receive him.

The English ambassador [Dr. Wotton] has again remonstrated very strongly with his most Christian Majesty, complaining, in his Queen's name, that her rebels who had plotted to kill her are entertained (*trattenuti*) and favoured here, staying even in the King's presence; and prayed him that their evil-disposed accomplices may not be encouraged by this example; to which his Majesty, in reply, made it appear that he knew nothing whatever about it, but would have inquiry made whether any such persons were in his kingdom, and make due provision (*et ne farebbe provisione*).

Morette, 6th June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 6.
Dispacci Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 6, B.

508. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters dated the 22nd ulto. from England have been received by Cardinal Morone, vice-protector of that kingdom, with money for the despatch of certain bishoprics, including the important see of Winchester. The courier who passed through France says that Cardinal Caraffa arrived at Marseilles on the 27th ulto.

Count Brocardo, a Cremonese, has arrived here on his way to Naples to visit the Queen of Poland on behalf of the King of England.

Rome, 6th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of growth and development. It begins with the first settlers who came to the continent, and it ends with the present day. The story is one of struggle and triumph, of hardship and success. It is a story that has shaped the nation and the world.

The first settlers came to the continent in search of a new home. They found a land of opportunity, but also a land of hardship. They had to fight for their survival, and they had to build a new society. The story of the United States is a story of the struggle for freedom and independence. It is a story of the people who have shaped the nation and the world.

The story of the United States is a story of growth and development. It is a story of the people who have shaped the nation and the world. It is a story of the struggle for freedom and independence. It is a story of the people who have built a new society.

1556.
June 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

509. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday a courier was sent to the Princess in Spain, desiring her not to allow Spanish subjects to go to Rome to obtain anything whatever from the See Apostolic, nor permit the Nuncio in Spain to exercise his ordinary authority with regard to the personal effects (*specie*) of deceased bishops and other ecclesiastics, unless the Pope abstain from what he is now doing against their Majesties. This resolve proceeds from the will of the Emperor, and every day, without awaiting the hour assigned for the meeting of the council, he sends to summons the counsellors to his presence, his whole discourse being about papal matters, always in a very angry tone, and when anyone who in consultation does not tend towards the same end as his Majesty, or would arrive at it by other means than those imagined by him, he, interrupting them all, is accustomed to say, "So and so must be done" (*bisogna far così e così*), always adding an illustration derived from what has happened to himself with former Popes, and how he had conducted himself with them; and whereas previously he would not listen to letters from any place, and no longer received their summaries which Secretary Vargas was in the habit of making for him, he now has them brought to him, and especially those from Italy, and stays listening to them most patiently, and pondering the slightest details.

Yesterday there was a long consultation about sending the Duke of Savoy as Governor of the Milanese, *both to thwart the projects of the Pope and the King of France, according to whose league a son of the Duke of Ferrara is to have Italy*, and also to gratify Queen Maria by reappointing her Regent of Flanders for three years, as she openly shows herself beyond measure enraged both with the Emperor and the King, and moreover because, should the truce be broken, their Majesties could find no more fitting Regent for these states than the said Queen.

The French ambassador here has obtained from their Majesties the release of the ten prisoners of quality, and says that in a few days the Constable's son will also be set at liberty.

A gentleman of the Queen's chamber arrived yesterday from England, sent by her Majesty to visit the King on account of his indisposition. His Majesty sent for him immediately to his bedside, and told him to write to the Queen that he was much better, and hoped to begin getting up in two days. This gentleman then gave account to his Majesty of the whole affair of the prisoners, and especially of the strong evidence she had against Sir Peter Carew, exhorting his Majesty to take care of his health, and to bear in mind the promise made by him heretofore to the Queen in England. The King answered him that after the arrival and departure of the King and Queen of Bohemia, he would perform his promise of going to her.

Colonel Cesare of Naples has told Don Ruy Gomez positively that he will no longer serve King Philip, because the post of captain of the artillery has been given to Aldanna, who was sent last week to the Duke of Alva. He complains that the service rendered by him to the Emperor during so many years has not been acknowledged.

1556.

The King having seen that neither the Marquis of Gierace nor the Signor Andrea Arduino, nor any of the Sicilians of great quality (*di gran conditione*), have chosen to go back to that kingdom from fear of being maltreated by Don Juan de Vega the Viceroy, his Majesty wrote, desiring him to come to the court, and he replied that the King perchance intends to punish him, supposing that he has committed some act of injustice towards certain persons now with his Majesty, and to whom they had appealed; that the King has authority to do this in his own kingdom (*nel proprio luogo*); and should he not choose Vega to serve him any longer, and if he is to go to Spain, it would be much more inconvenient for him to do so than to come to Brussels, but that as the King perhaps requires his presence, in order to reward him, the favour would be greater were he to receive it in Spain, instead of coming hither; and should his Majesty intend to avail himself of his services, by giving him some other post, he says positively that by reason of a variety of diseases he knows himself unfit to be employed in any other. This strange and impudent mode of proceeding, which this Vega also adopted in like manner with the Emperor, has surprised the court.

The Abbot Gevio, who is in the service of Cardinal Morone, departs to-day. I conjecture *he brought their Majesties the copy of the league made between the Pope and the King of France, about which Don Bernardino de Mendoza told me, as I wrote to your Serenity.**

Brussels, 8th June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 9.
Original
Despatch
Venetian
Archives.

510. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The arrest of the governess and of *Miladi Elizabeth's* three domestics having subsequently been added to by that of two other gentlemen resident here, who although her dependents and receiving salaries from her are in less constant attendance on her than the aforesaid, the Queen was induced to send to her in the country [at Hatfield] yesterday, Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse (Grand Escudier), and Sir H. Englefield (*et il Signor Inghilfel*), one of the Lords of the Royal Council, to console and comfort her on behalf of her Majesty, knowing, as may well be supposed, that this circumstance had distressed and dejected her; and to present her, as a token of loving salutation, and of a message of good will, according to the custom here, with a ring worth 400 ducats;† and also to give her minute account of the cause of their arrest, to acquaint her with what they had hitherto deposed and confessed, and to persuade her not to take amiss the removal from about her person of similar folks (*simile gente*), who subjected her to the danger of some evil suspicion; assuring her of the Queen's good will and disposition, provided she continue to live becomingly, to her Ma-

* See before, entry No. 490, letter dated Brussels 21st May 1556.

† This confirms a quotation from the MS. Life of the Countess de Feria (Jane Dormer), in Dr. Lingard's History of England, vol. 5, p. 246, ed. London, 1854.

1556.

jesty's liking; together with some other particulars, which cannot now be ascertained; using in short loving and gracious expressions, to show her that she is neither neglected nor hated, but loved and esteemed by her Majesty. This message (*officio*) is considered most gracious by the whole kingdom, everybody in general wishing her all ease and honour, and very greatly regretting any trouble she may incur; the proceeding having been not only necessary but profitable, to warn her of the licentious life led, especially in matters of religion, by her household, independently of the certain knowledge had by those members of it who have been arrested, of these conspiracies; she being thus clandestinely exposed to the manifest risk of infamy and ruin. The Queen has thus moreover an opportunity for remodelling her (Elizabeth's) household in another form, and with a different sort of persons to those now in her service, replacing them by such as are entirely dependent on her Majesty; so that as her own proceedings and those of all such persons as enter or quit her abode will be most narrowly scanned, she may have reason to keep so much the more to her duty, and together with her attendants behave the more cautiously (*di star tanto più in officio et di viver insieme con li suoi con tanto più rispetto*); but on the return of the gentlemen aforesaid the effect produced by them will be still better ascertained.

The three prisoners last condemned were put to death yesterday in the same way as the others. It does not appear that Carew and Cheke have yet been examined; the latter runs some risk of faring badly should he be found really guilty of having compiled one of those books against the King and Queen, and the present state of affairs, which were privily circulated here.*

As yet, not one of the three couriers despatched lately one after the other to Brussels, by the Queen and the Regent Figueroa, has returned; and they were followed by a chamberlain sent in haste by her Majesty the moment she heard of the King's illness, which news greatly increased her own.

London, 9th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 13.
Dispacei Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 6, B.

511. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the CHIEFS of the TEN.

Has heard from Cardinal Farnese that the Duke of Alva had offered him the restitution of the whole of the Parmesan territory, and of 50,000 ducats revenue in the kingdom of Naples, and the revenue of Monreale in Sicily, provided he would renounce his claims on Piacenza to the King of England, and that the Farnese family would be the friends and servants of Spain as heretofore. He added that these seemed great offers, but that he was determined not to accept them from fear of being deceived, as he always had been, and that he would never do anything without the good grace and consent of the most Christian King.

He then proceeded to tell me that when he took leave of the Pope his Holiness kept him more than four hours, asking him what

* See before, date 13th May 1555.

1556.

he thought would take place with regard to the new duchy of his nephew, and that he told him his mind freely. He also ventured to point out to the Pope many abuses (*inconvenienti*) practised both in the courts of justice, by daily arresting many persons and never expediting anyone, and in many other matters, which terrified the court, and would cause Rome to be deserted; and this also, he said, the Pope took very kindly.

Cardinal Farnese then said he thought it probable Cardinal Caraffa was gone to France to make the King determine on some fresh stir, though he was of opinion that the same necessity which induced his most Christian Majesty to make the truce, would cause him to observe it for some time, and the more so as the Constable bears little friendship to the Guise family, which is desirous of novelty, nor will he suffer his counsel to be so speedily annulled.

Rome, 13th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 13.
Dispacci Roma,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6, B.
Second Letter.

512. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the CHIEFS of the TEN.

Count Brocardo, who came from the court of the King of England to visit the Queen of Poland, has left for Naples. After much solicitation he obtained audience of his Holiness, and spoke to him in his King's name about the affairs of the Lord Giulio Cesarino. In his reply the Pope showed that he had a very bad account of the affair; nor did the Count make any rejoinder, being requested by the adherents of the Signor Giuliano thus to do, as they were of opinion that this intercession would not profit him.

On Wednesday the Abbot Nania was beheaded; a certain captain, his companion, being hanged. The abbot is said to have been put to death because he plotted with Don Garcia d'Aron (*sic*) (who absented himself) to poison Cardinal Farnese; the captain, for having sought to kill Cardinal Farnese with an arquebuse. Both one and the other when taken to the place of execution said publicly that they were sinners, and for their sins deserved every misfortune, but that they were utterly innocent of the crime for which they suffered, nor for it did they ask pardon of God's mercy.

The Duke of Paliano sent me letters from Cardinal Caraffa, dated Marseilles, the 29th ultimo, together with letters from the most Christian King, the Constable, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, of which I transmit copies. I understand that besides these letters, there was one from the Cardinal to the Duke his brother, demanding fresh pecuniary supply, but the Duke does not know how to represent this matter to the Pope.

To-day the Imperial ambassador had sent for the baggage-mules into his court-yard to load his effects, and in the evening he was given to understand that an order had been sent to the gates not to let him pass. At his request the Cardinal of Santiago [Juan Alvarez de Toledo] sent his secretary to the Pope requesting that the licence which he had twice given to the Marquis [of Sarria] might take effect. The Pope replied that it is true he gave it him, but that the Marquis is too violent (*è troppo terribile*), alluding to the affair of the gate, and of the gentlemen who were put to death in

1556.

his house, and that he would inform himself about the order given at the gates not to let him depart. The Duke of Paliano, being requested in like manner thus to do, said he would speak about it to the Pope; so it is evident that they do not choose him to go away.

Rome, 13th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

513. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the commissions sent by their Majesties to the Duke of Alva desiring him, after praying and persuading, finally to declare war on the Pope should he not desist from his projects and operations, the Duke was subsequently ordered to have the Count of Montorio, and all the nearest kinsfolk of his Holiness, summoned to Naples, or to the court here; and to inform all the Spanish syndics in Rome that they must quit that city and the States of the Church, under pain of being considered rebels.

The Emperor continues to assemble the Council of State once, and sometimes twice, a day in his own chamber, discussing various things necessary to be done in case of war, which here is considered certain, owing to the frequent advices received from their Majesties' ministers, and to manifest signs, indicating the Pope's determination that the Emperor and King Philip shall commence it, as also from what they hear about the King of France, who, as told me by Don Juan Manrique, has sent to give money in Switzerland; in addition to which, the said King's ministers say that he will never allow the Pope to be attacked. The Count Broccardo also writes that when he negotiated with the Duke of Ferrara, he comprehended and heard that his Excellency will be declared captain general in Italy of his Holiness and his most Christian Majesty, and that the Duke of Parma will proceed against the Lord of Colorno, his vassal, and who is the dependent of the Emperor and King Philip, to have a pretext for commencing the war.

Three days ago their Majesties' confessors [Soto and Castro] were again called into the Council of State, and certain letters received lately from Rome were shown them, whereby it is understood that the Pope took occasion to say that if the King of Spain withdrew his obedience, he would excommunicate and deprive him of his title of king, as chanced to a former King of Aragon, and that he would free his vassals from their oath. The confessors suggested that without much trouble the people may be kept to their allegiance, as was done some ninety years ago, when Spain alienated herself from the church, leaving the care of all [spiritual] matters to the two primates, the one of Castile and the Kingdoms dependent thereon, namely, the Archbishop of Toledo; the other of Aragon, Valentia, and Catalonia, who is Archbishop of Tarragona.

The Emperor having sent for Count Schwartzburg, held three long conferences with him about the mode and time for raising 3,000 cavalry, and according to his own account he will soon be despatched

1556.

on this service ; but he has not been able to ascertain whether his Imperial Majesty destines them for Flanders or Italy.

Colonel Aldanna tells me he has heard from Don Bernardino de Mendoza, that on the arrival of the King of Bohemia all the decisions which have been formed, both about what is to be done in Italy, and with regard to the expedient to be adopted by his Imperial Majesty concerning the Empire,* will be announced ; and speaking about the Emperor personally, he added that in these great troubles caused him by the Pope, he daily exhibited to certain new counsellors of state his mature prudence ; and but for the courage thus given them he declared that their panic would be too immoderate ; and whilst the King kept his bed the Emperor gave satisfaction, moreover, by conceding audience to such private persons as asked it of him. All the lodgings have been prepared for the King and Queen of Bohemia ; and the Duke of Holstein, before his departure, gave it to be understood that on their arrival he would return ; the King of Spain negotiating two marriages for two daughters of the King of the Romans, one to the said Duke, the other to his nephew, the son of the King of Denmark. The King of Spain has sent to Antwerp to make a bargain with the merchants for 100,000 crowns to be given to the King of Bohemia on his arrival here on account of his credits, their Majesties' promise being to that effect.

The French ambassador resident here sent a spy to Holland, to ascertain what orders have been given about the ships already prepared for the Emperor's voyage to Spain, and he brings back word that he found 55 sail, all in good order with ammunition and provisions, and 1,500 Spaniards quartered at Middelburg, who had received two months' pay (*due paghe*) as earnest money. The troops raised in Friesland and Guelders amount to 2,000 infantry, but they are not near the place of embarkation, nor is it known whether they will disband (*se si dissolveranno*) or remain together ; but the Spaniards are ordered to remain in their present quarters during the whole of July, with a promise that they shall go to England with the King, who sent back the Queen's chamberlain with fresh assurances of returning to her after settling what is necessary with King Maximilian, fully certifying his consort that he has issued such commands as will prevent the Spaniards, when at table, from speaking dishonourably of the English nation for the future, as her Majesty had prayed him to do, complaining of similar insults, on several accounts. A secretary from Cardinal Farnese has been sent to reside here with the French ambassador, for the purpose of demanding, in virtue of the treaty of truce, that the Farnese family be allowed to keep possession of the 50,000 crowns revenue, which it enjoyed heretofore in the States of the King of Spain. The ambassador has spoken about this to their Majesties' ministers, and urged the release of the prisoners [of war] ; he received fair words in reply, and was also requested to write to the King of France to allow the nephew of the Cardinal of Trent, and the son of the Count of Colorno, to be set free on payment of their rate of ransom.

* Et dell' espediente dell' Imperio che prenderà Sua Maestà Cesarea.

1556.

The King's maggiordomo Don Diego de Azevedo has been sent to Spain to provide money, and is commissioned to remain as treasurer-general in the kingdom of Aragon.

Brussels, 14th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

514. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The office performed with *Miladi* Elizabeth by the two personages sent to her in the Queen's name, agreed with what I wrote on the 9th, as heard on their return. According to the chief commission given them, before leaving her, they placed in her house a certain Sir Thomas Pope, a rich and grave gentleman, of good name, both for conduct and religion; the Queen having appointed him *Miladi's* governor, and she having accepted him willingly, although he himself did his utmost to decline such a charge. I am told that besides this person, they also assigned her a widow gentlewoman, as governess, in lieu of her own who is a prisoner, so that at present having none but the Queen's dependents about her person, she herself likewise may be also said to be in ward and custody, though in such decorous and honourable form as becoming.

The despatch of the prisoners continues, though slowly, according to the custom here. Yesterday three others were arraigned, but the only one condemned was the court official [Leukner] who had the care of the cards and dice at the gambling tables. The other two were sent back until another day; one of them being one of those three servants arrested in the house of the Lady Elizabeth; the other, a captain, or of some such profession.

Other affairs here proceed quietly as usual, but with risk of great sickness and yet greater famine than the last, owing to the heat and extraordinary drought of the season, as, contrary to the wont of this climate, and to the need of the soil, four months and upwards have passed without any rain to do good.

The Queen remains more distressed than ever, from hearing that fresh impediments arise daily to prevent the return of the King; but what grieves her most is the not having had news of his malady for several days, neither her chamberlain nor any of the couriers over there (*dì là*) having returned; nor does her ambassador write, which yet more increases her sorrow and suspicion; as, although it is heard by advices from others that his Majesty has almost quite recovered, she, nevertheless, receiving no intelligence to this effect from her agents, will not give credit to the others, nor be pacified.

London, 16th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

515. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal Caraffa came to the court to-day in his official habit, the King, accompanied by the Constable, descending two steps of the stair to meet him. He is lodged at the court with as much honour and convenience as possible. *It is said that he will attend to the con-*

1556.

firmation by his most Christian Majesty of the protection promised to his family, and also a little to the negotiation of peace likewise (et poco a trattatione di pace ancora); and those who have spoken with his right reverend Lordship, report that by word of mouth he evinces a great wish for it, though it is believed the matter will proceed in appearance rather than in reality (che passerà più presto con apparentia che con effetti). As soon as they hear of the arrival at the Imperial Court of the right reverend Motula [the Legate Scipione Rebiba, Bishop of Motula], couriers will be sent to and fro to make a good display; though it is quite true that the Imperial ambassador gives it amply to be understood, and moreover told me this very day, that should these cardinals choose to mediate even moderately in this negotiation, they will find such largeness (larghezza) on the part of his Princes as to have it in their power to produce some good effect, provided the King of France choose to reciprocate towards them fairly.

Morette, 16th June 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

June 20.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

516. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday I went to visit the Cardinal Legate Caraffa with regard to the matter which he was come to transact with the most Christian King; he said he would not fail to aid the Pope's good intention, and that he entertained fair hope, not only because the Princes on both sides were weary, but also because many years had elapsed since a Pope had acted as mediator in a similar negotiation with such an intention as now instigated his Holiness (*che non era stato già molti anni un Pontefice il quale con quella intentione s'avesse interposto ad una tale trattatione, come faceva al presente sua Santità*), and that he had found his most Christian Majesty so disposed as greatly to increase his (the Cardinal's) hopes. The Cardinal also told me that on the day before yesterday he stated to the King the instruction received by him from the Pope, who sent his Majesty principally his blessing (*la quale principalmente gli mandava la sua benedittione*), and the good announcement of peace; and he added that in virtue of his office the Pope had despatched two Legates, one to the Emperor and his son, the other to his most Christian Majesty, to exhort and pray them to turn their eyes to the common weal of Christendom, which not merely by so many wars, but also by heresy, was already half exterminated and in great straits (*strettissimo termine*). His Holiness, therefore, as universal father had determined to convoke a general Council in Rome, a place convenient for all nations and for the Pope, who could not by reason of his advanced age so easily proceed elsewhere; the which Council he would announce in a few days, by fresh nuncios to all the Christian Princes; but he did not see by what means he could effect so just a wish without the settlement of peace between the Christian powers; so that he prayed his most Christian Majesty, the other Legate doing the like by the Emperor and the King of Spain, to be content with what was fair, and to find a mode of adjustment.

1556.

Here the Legate, becoming very much excited, both in language and countenance, added that he had assured his Majesty that should he see himself fed with words, he would ascertain from which side the omission with regard to pursuing this good result proceeded; and when convinced of the fact, would act against the one with whom he should know the defect to rest, both by excommunications and every other sort of weapon, spiritual and temporal, having recourse also to those of his friends. To this the King, he said, answered most graciously that as to the Council, he commended beyond measure the goodwill and desire of his Holiness, and that as for himself he was always quite ready to send his prelates, at the Pope's pleasure, and that forthwith, without waiting further for a new nuncio, he would give his said prelates to understand that they were to prepare so as to be ready for any command. With regard to the peace, the King lauded the paternal office performed by the Pope, and said that respecting himself he had always been ready to come to an equitable adjustment with the Emperor and his son, but that now he was more so than ever, being moved by his Holiness' persuasions; wherefore whenever the said Princes may choose to restore what they hold belonging to him, he would give back what he ought (*quello che doveva*), and that should any difficulty arise about this, he was content to refer all his differences to the Pope; and he requested his right reverend Lordship to announce this resolve to him, so that he (the Legate) was now despatching a courier to Rome to give his Holiness account of all this, and to-morrow he would send another courier to Brussels with the same information for his colleague the Legate, whose arrival at that court could not be long delayed; and should he find the Emperor and the King of the same mind as his most Christian Majesty, sure hope of peace might be entertained. On the other hand, in case of delay, Cardinal Caraffa said he should take leave of the King to return to Rome, as he could not prolong his absence, both on account of business and also by reason of the Pope's age.

After thanking the Cardinal for this communication, I inquired if he had asked the King what States he claimed from the Emperor, and whether the other Legate would do the like. He said he had not, but that should the Emperor consent to what satisfies the most Christian King, the demands will then be made, and transmitted to the Pope, who, as Prince of Princes, will give judgment. He then discoursed about the life and goodness of his Holiness, praising him beyond measure, and principally for the "reform," and said that in a few days the bull against simony would be issued, and that chamber clerkships (*chiericati di camera*), and other similar offices, will no longer exist, everything being given gratis, as was done with regard to the affairs of the "Dataria," and that in the Pope's palace all his attendants were intent on nothing but fasting, and praying God for the peace of Christendom, all the vices which prevailed in the time of former pontiffs having been banished; and in like manner his Holiness would never be seen to alienate anything belonging to the Church; and indeed if able to recover what it had been deprived of, he would be content to shed his own blood for that purpose.

Then the Cardinal dwelt much on the insults received from the

1556.

Imperial ministers who had compelled the Pope to arm for his defence and dignity, and he greatly vituperated the Imperial ambassador at Rome, *calling him an assassin and a traitor*; and then in a long speech he narrated all the offences committed by him against the Pope and himself; of which things processes having been made, he chose the whole world to hear them, and although a long time had elapsed without expediting them, this was caused by the Pope's wish to render the charges so clear and justifiable that no one could confute them; but that although he (the Cardinal) had been grievously offended, as they even plotted to murder him, yet he had referred all the injuries done him to God, but that the Imperialists would not see him (*non lo volevano vedere*), as the offending party never forgives, and always attributes the same sentiments to the person offended; but that his own conscience amply sufficed him, as it acquitted him before God; vowing that on many occasions he had mitigated the Pope's anger, who would otherwise have gone much further; and that when his Holiness insisted at any rate on imprisoning the said ambassador in Castle St. Angelo, with the intention of beheading him, he appeased his Holiness by telling him that were he to make so great a stir (*che quando facesse questo gran moto*) he would give the world to understand that he thus gave vent to the dissatisfaction caused him by the truce. The Cardinal said he would never desist from these offices, because in like manner as with all faith, and to his honour, he had served the Emperor as a soldier during 18 consecutive years (although he was ill remunerated for it), and subsequently the most Christian King, who had maintained his honour and his life, so at present, having quite contrary to his opinion become the soldier of the Holy Church and of Christ, in like manner would he serve this his new Captain with all faith and sincerity, consigning entirely to oblivion his former profession.

Throughout his discourse the Cardinal has always the name of God on his lips, and evinced so much zeal for religion, that had he lived always in the cloister rather than in the camp he could not express himself in more reformed and Christian terms.

Morette, 20th June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 20.
• Senato Mar.
Vol. 33,
p. 74, tergo.

517. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning the appointment of a Venetian Consul in London.

In order that the interests of our merchants and subjects dwelling in London may not suffer from lack of a consul or vice-consul, as has been the case for some years, during which, to their serious detriment, their differences have been terminated by a foreign judge, an infringement of our privileges and jurisdictions of no slight importance, as frequently notified to us by former ambassadors, and by our present representative with the King and Queen of England; wherefore, Put to the ballot that--

By authority of this council, be it enacted that our five sages for the Board of Trade (*cinque savij nostri sopra la mercantia*), and our proveditors for all three of the factories (*et i proveditori*

1556.

nostri sopra tutti tre i colimi)* do assemble immediately; and after pondering what is worthy of consideration, and hearing what the merchants who make the English voyage would wish to say for the benefit of their trade, the said committee (*collegio*) do then decree and decide whatever they shall think necessary, both by ordering what is to be done in London by the council of twelve there, and also by their own appointment here of a consul from amongst our noblemen, or of a vice-consul from amongst our citizens resident in London, as may seem most expedient to them, they moreover appointing such salary as they shall think suitable.† The committee to be also empowered and to exercise the power of limiting all the expenses incurred on account of said factory, both there in London and here, establishing such regulations about its management, as shall seem useful and necessary to them. The committee to be moreover authorised to tax the amount to be levied on the goods imported and exported on this voyage, in conformity with the acts passed in this matter, as much to the benefit and advantage of the merchants as possible. Any resolve formed by the said committee and decreed by two thirds of its ballots to be stable and valid as if carried in this council, by whose authority the consul or vice-consul who shall be elected is to be written to, that the acts passed by it, as stated, are to be, and caused to be executed in every respect and thoroughly (*debba in tutto et per tutto eseguir et far eseguir*); of the which acts copy to be sent; and the committee is not to be considered a "quorum" unless at least nine of the eleven members be present. Each of the five sages of the Board of Trade, and of the proveditors for the London factory, to be allowed to make such motions as shall seem to them profitable and necessary, each member of the committee being put upon oath to ballot conscientiously.

The aforesaid authority to continue both in the present and in the subsequent five sages and factory proveditors until the entire and total despatch and regulation of the said voyage, it being declared that the aforesaid salary of the consul or vice-consul and all the other expenses be defrayed with the moneys of the factory aforesaid.

Ayes, 184. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 2.

Read to the College on the 15th April 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 20.
Dispacci Roma,
Venetian,
Archives,
No. 7, B.

518. BERNARDO NAVAGERO to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Having gone to the Pope to-day for audience, he took me by the hand and led me into the library of Julius III., where after saying that many days had elapsed since he last saw me, to which I replied that I had regard for his occupations and the late excessive heats, he replied, "Never have this fear of troubling us, for we

* The three "*colimi*" (a term which I have invariably translated "*factories*"), were those of London, Damascus, and Alexandria. (See Boerio's Venetian Directory.)

† Until this motion was made, it seems that the Venetian factory in London appointed its own consul or vice-consul, who was paid by fees. By a document in the Venetian Archives, dated 19th May 1648, it appears that in 1646, John Hobson was appointed English consul in Venice by "The Trinity House."

1556.

discourse with you as willingly as with the Duke our nephew, as you will this moment comprehend, for we shall impart to you our whole mind, with the hope, nay with the certainty, that everything communicated by us, through you, to those most illustrious lords will, on several accounts, be kept secret. We are informed that after we deprived these Colonnas (*questi Colonna*) as they deserved, being unable to tolerate them so near our home, and after it was heard that we had given their territory to our nephew, than whom a person more suited to this charge could not be found, that schismatic and heretical Emperor, whom we know to be a heretic, as at their first commencement he always favoured those opinions, to depress this Holy See and make himself master of Rome—as not only does he believe that this city belongs to him, but also the whole of our state, all Italy, and your city itself, which has always been free, and by the grace of God will thus continue as aforesaid—has proposed three things in his council: first, to wage war on us openly; secondly, to withdraw the obedience from us; thirdly, clandestinely to reinstate these Colonnas. Should they wage war on us openly, when thinking to attack us they will be compelled rather to think of self-defence. We will raise the whole world against them should they show the slightest sign of withdrawing the obedience; woe betide him (*væ illi*)! we will deprive him of the Empire, of his realms, and of his existence as a human being and a christian (*dell'essere huomo e christiano*), and let them see what a servant of God can do in virtue of and through the authority given him by Christ. Should they really choose to aid these vermin magots (*questi vermelli*) for the recovery of their State, we have already provided against that, as you will have heard from the Duke. You also know that on account of his insolencies we no longer consider the Marquis of Sarria ambassador here; the Cardinal of Santiago (S. Giacomo) came to us lately requesting very mildly and respectfully that we should take him into favour again, and negotiate with him. We replied that we would think about it during the night, and having thought, we determined to comply with the Cardinal's wish, but on condition of being able to do so without offending God, as the said ambassador, having done what you know, was excommunicated by us; so we desired the Cardinal not to bring him to us until he was absolved and free; and as the Cardinal is our friend, we, to give him yet greater authority, desired him to hear the Marquis, and for his sins to inflict on him a penance, *in pias causas*,* as we understand has been done, and we expect him to-day at 4 p.m. Were we not unwilling to weary you by so long a stay, we should wish you to be present at this spectacle. What we have told you hitherto is nothing; our reason for taking this ambassador again into favour is that having done an act of justice by degrading (*privandolo*) and holding him in such small account as we did, it perhaps became our clemency and graciousness so to do, which you will believe of us. It might also be said that we were thus induced by the prayers of the Cardinal and many others, which also would have been credible, as *homines sumus et humani*; but to you,

* A pecuniary fine, to be expended in charity.

1556.

that is to say, to our heart, we say why it is that we did so, to be enabled (should these Imperialists insist on troubling us) in his presence by sound of trumpet to let them know what we are, and exercise that authority of which we told you just now."

On this the Pope expatiated at great length, repeating what he had said at present and on many other occasions against the Emperor, and about the cause of the death of the Abbot Nania and the captain who suffered with him; and he added, "That heretic [the Emperor] hates us, because he knows that we are better acquainted with his defects and tyrannical designs than anyone else." He then began commending the good-will always evinced by your Serenity towards the quiet and liberty of Italy, and said he was very sure the Signory would never fail in this her natural inclination; to which I replied that your Serenity's aim was quiet and peace; and in conclusion, embracing me closely, he said, "We desire peace, and my Lord God knows it we have sent to seek it, but should they compel us to make war they may regret it; and who knows what Divine Providence may bring to pass;" and then, whispering in my ear, and with his hand on my shoulders, he said, "This will perhaps be the way to free this poor Italy; and this much have we to tell you down to the present time."

The Imperial ambassador having gone to the palace with the Cardinal of Santiago, according to the arrangement mentioned above, I sent to hear something about it by my secretary, who having met the Duke of Paliano, his excellency desired him to tell me that Marquis Sarria had returned into favour with his Holiness, and then showed him a letter from the nuncio at the Imperial Court, dated the 3rd instant, containing a paragraph thus, "The fortifying of Paliano and Nettuno is taken very much amiss at this court and by their Majesties, not so much on account of the Colonna family as for the security of the kingdom of Naples, especially as they say those places will be protected by the French; and it was discussed in council to prohibit this by force, but they subsequently determined to have the Pope requested to cause the suspension of the works. They say they will appoint a successor to the Marquis of Sarria on the arrival here of the Cardinal of Pisa, who will, I hope, quiet these and other things which are constantly disseminated by the malignants." Having finished reading the letter, the Duke said the works would not be discontinued on this account, and that they shall await the demand, in reply to which the Pope will have no lack of very good arguments.*

Rome, 20th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 20.
Dispacci Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 6, B.

519. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal Tournon told my secretary that he has heard from France that the King of England has released on parole (*sopra*

* This letter and others written by Navagero serve to fill up a blank in the correspondence of Sir Edward Carne, English ambassador at Rome, whose despatch dated 9th June 1556, is the only one of that month preserved in the Foreign Calendar, nor has it any sequel until the 3rd of August 1556.

1556.

la fede) Monsr. de Montmorency and Monsr. de Bouillon, together with some others, treating them with great kindness and distinction; saying besides that in no other quarter than here at Rome is war spoken of, and that with the personages in authority here he (Cardinal Tournon) is unpopular, because he gave it clearly to be understood that he disapproved of the war, and that his sacerdotal robes forbade him to prefer it to peace. Touching this topic I also understand that the Pope sent for the said Cardinal Tournon, and requested pecuniary assistance from him for the cost of the troops now being raised for [the defence of] Palliano. The Cardinal replied that he could not do it without the King's order; and when the Pope rejoined that the King had written that in any need of this Holy See and of his family [France would assist him?]* the Cardinal said it was true, but that he, as minister, could not descend from such a general order to details without an express command, which he would apply for and then execute it diligently. Thereupon the Pope replied angrily, "I am then deceived by the King;" and when the Cardinal said that his King never deceived any one, the Pope continued, "In that case I am deceived by you." To this the Cardinal answered, "I have served two kings, and many pontiffs and princes, nor could any of them say that they were ever deceived by me, and if your Holiness has this opinion of me, give me leave and I will depart."

Rome, 20th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 20.
Dispacci Roma,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6, B.

520. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

A gentleman in the service of the Duke of Alva, who came from Naples under pretence of bringing the Duke of Urbino the decision about the Duchy of Sora, is ordered to tell the Cardinal San Giacomo, and the Emperor's ambassador, that they would do well to leave Rome.

Rome, 20th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 21.
Dispacci Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 6, B.

521. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Concerning the Duchy of Sora, which the Cardinal of Urbino wishes to resign to the Duke his brother, permission to this effect has been received from the King of England, but it is said that the Duke has not yet determined to accept it.

Rome, 21st June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 21.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

522. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio has been commissioned by the Pope to acquaint the Emperor and King Philip with the departure of the Cardinal Pisaf on his way to their Majesties. He told the King that the Cardinal would prove that all the proceedings of his Holiness had been just, and for the dignity of the See Apostolic, and

* In the original some words have been omitted.

† Rebibia, Archbishop of Pisa.

1556.

that the suspicion entertained by their Majesties arose from the advices of malignants, and from the imprudence of the Marquis de Sarria, and his misunderstanding with Cardinal Caraffa. The King gave fair words in reply. *Not one of the chief ministers, however, nor any other person in these two courts, be his quality what it may, believes what the Nuncio tells everybody* (va dicendo a ciascuno in conformità); *they, on the contrary, are convinced that his Holiness pursues this course designedly* (studiosamente) *to deceive their Majesties, saying that such has been the Pope's nature always, and that for many years he has hated the Emperor mortally.* Don Ruy Gomez and the Bishop of Arras say they have advices that Cardinal Caraffa has ordered the Legate Pisa to come hither slowly, so that he (Caraffa) may obtain a firm promise from the King of France of the things desired by the Pope, and then give notice to his colleague, so that, according to their tenour, he may elicit the object of their Majesties' negotiations. They consider it a bad sign that in certain briefs sent lately by his Holiness to Spain, to the Princess the Emperor's daughter, he used disrespectful terms, giving her no other title than that of "noble lady" (nobil donna), in consequence of which the Spaniards apply the grossest epithets imaginable to the Pope, and repeat them to his own Nuncio, who has written to the Papal ministers that he does not think it fit to transmit them, as they are so coarse (così brutte) as to be unworthy of recital. Owing to the Nuncio's fair words it was debated in council whether to send a new ambassador to the Pope, and they determined to await the arrival of the Cardinal of Pisa. It was also discussed whether they should send back Don Bernardino de Mendoza to Naples, and remove the Duke of Alva, their Majesties being so dissatisfied with his past operations that in the event of war they are afraid of losing that kingdom; nor does his Excellency's brother-in-law, Don Antonio de Toledo, who is a member of the privy council, nor any other relation or friend of his, dare to defend him against his many accusers.

When congratulating the King on his recovery, I used the most loving expressions possible, by reason of several letters from Rome expressing suspicions of your Serenity's having a secret understanding with the Pope, it being said in particular that you had given two galleys to the Duke of Paliano. The King answered me so lovingly that I could not but attribute his words to good will, and I then visited the Bishop of Arras, who, when speaking of the Pope, told me they had intercepted certain letters whereby they had ascertained your Serenity's good will as to peace; and then with a smile on his face he said he had determined to retire, the Emperor his master having renounced all his States and statesmanship (*tutti i Stati et negotij*); and when I replied that the King would not brook the bereavement of his well-tested ability and great worth, he rejoined that I should in fact see that on his Majesty's departure he would not follow him, but remain at his bishopric, and do what good he could in these provinces.

Brussels, 21st June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.

June 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

523. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English ambassador has complained bitterly to his most Christian Majesty that some of the new rebels of his most Serene Queen, who lately made their escape to France, having joined others who were already here, fitted out two French ships in Normandy, and captured two English vessels laden with merchandise; to which his Majesty replied that he knew nothing whatever about it; and when the ambassador rejoined that by existing treaties between the two kingdoms it having been stipulated that his Majesty was not to allow any armed vessel to go out of his harbours without a licence, and after giving security not to molest the English, he did not comprehend how these ships could have got out without the King's knowing anything about it; whereupon the King repeated that he did not know of it, but would apply such a remedy as would satisfy him. Shortly after this the Admiral sent to show the ambassador a letter giving account of an English corsair who had captured four French ships; and the ambassador told me that the said rebels had also armed the two English ships taken by them, and that they were all four at sea, adding that at this commencement it would be easy to adjust everything, but that if matters went further he apprehended some great disagreement between these two crowns. The French ambassador resident in England [Antoine de Noailles] has obtained leave to return hither, and in his stead one of his brothers [Gilles de Noailles] has been sent, with the title of agent, and it is apparently intended to run on (*di scorrere*) in this fashion. In addition to the 800 French infantry in garrison in Scotland, his most Christian Majesty is sending another 1,200, so that the entire amount will be 2,000.

Morette, 23rd June 1556.

[Italian.]

June 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

524. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Treaty of peace proposed by Vincenzo Parpaglia, agent of Cardinal Pole (despatch in cipher throughout).*

The Imperial ambassador resident here [Simon Renard, Lieutenant d'Amont] has lately held several conversations with the Abbot of San Saluto, and having demonstrated to him a great wish for these Majesties [Henry II. and Philip II.] to conclude a peace, repeated several times that there could be no more opportune moment than the present. To this the Abbot replied that from his conversations with the Constable he did not find him unwilling, provided the Milanese were given either to one of the sons of his most Christian Majesty or to the Duke of Savoy, but that otherwise he did not see by what means any belief in peace could be entertained. The ambassador

* Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of San Saluto, being the confidential agent of Cardinal Pole, I infer that the negotiations detailed in this letter were sanctioned by the Prime Minister of England, who was always intent on peace between the Imperialists and France, and for this reason, the fact being quite unknown at the present day (having been ascertained solely through Sig. Luigi Pasini's recent decipher), I have thought fit to translate this despatch.

1556.

replied that should this be the only difficulty, his king would doubtless give the said state, but that he did not see how King Philip could rely on the termination of the disputes after this cession, as the French even then would raise their demands, and that three marriages might be made, the one binding the other, and all three together binding this negotiation. The first, that of the eldest daughter of the most Christian King to the Prince of Spain; the second, that of a daughter of the King of Bohemia to the Duke of Orleans; and the third, that of the Emperor's daughter Joanna, widow of the Prince of Portugal, to the Duke of Savoy; on condition that should the French choose to have the Milanese for Orleans, they must restore to the Duke both Savoy and Piedmont, but retaining those states for Orleans. They must then allow the Milanese to be given to the Duke of Savoy. These terms being deemed worthy of consideration by the Abbot, he asked the ambassador whether he had any commission. The Lieutenant d'Amont replied that he spoke of himself, but with confidence (*ma che sapeva come*). Parpaglia then asked him whether he might speak about it to the Constable, whereupon, he having replied that he prayed him to do so, the Abbot subsequently suggested (*propose*) to his Excellency whether the King would settle all his differences with the Emperor and his son (without saying anything to him at the moment about marriages) on receiving the Milanese in one of the two aforesaid forms, as he, Parpaglia, had been given to understand by his Excellency. To this the Constable replied that his most Christian Majesty would never desist from his claims without the cession of the Milanese, but that were the Emperor and King Philip to give it, either for one of the King's sons or for the Duke of Savoy, he thought his most Christian Majesty would be content to agree to a fair peace (*di divenire ad una bona pace*), though he did not believe they would give it. When the Abbot rejoined that he would repeat this expression of good will to the ambassador, and write also to Brussels, the Constable told him to do as he pleased. With the ambassador's consent the Abbot wrote to Gio. Battista Schizo, Regent of Milan, that their Majesties were well inclined towards some amicable adjustment, and acquainted the Regent with the discourse held with the Constable, the letter purporting that, should the Emperor and the King of England determine on one of the two aforesaid ways of giving the state of Milan, he, the Abbot, perceived this side to be favourably disposed with regard to the settlement; wherefore he was to speak about it with their Majesties, who, should they assent to it, might give such orders as shall seem fit to them. Yesterday the Abbot showed me the copy of the said letter, and at that moment a packet was delivered to him from Brussels, and amongst his letters was one from the Regent of Milan, dated the 6th instant, stating that although his Majesty held dear the state of Milan, yet were he to know that the most Christian King would be disposed to see an end put (*di veder con questo modo terminar*) to all the difficulties and establish quiet, he, the King of England, would give the said state of Milan, but that the Regent perceived the Emperor and his Majesty to be more inclined to give it to the Duke of Savoy than to others, but on condition that the affairs of Piedmont and Savoy

1556.

should be so arranged that he could remain satisfied; though this good proposal was much disturbed by a certain Italian potentate, who in like manner as he sought either by a league or by other means to strengthen (ingagliardire) his most Christian Majesty's adherents (le parti di sua Maestà Christianissima), so did he irritate the King of England, and compel him in self-defence to think of arming; the cessation of which hindrance would also increase his most Christian Majesty's good disposition. Having read this letter, I inquired of the Abbot the signification of the words, "but on condition that the affairs of Piedmont and Savoy should be so arranged that he could remain satisfied;" and he told me that the King of England would wish his most Christian Majesty to cede all those states freely to his son the Duke of Orleans, detaching them entirely from the crown of France, and acknowledging their tenure from the Empire, so that they could never again be incorporated with the French crown.

Morette, 23rd June 1556.

[In cipher throughout; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini, in the year 1872.]

June 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

525. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Wrote in my last how distressed the Queen was on account of the King's indisposition, having, through the neglect of her agents in Flanders, remained ten days without news of him; so being extremely anxious (giclosissima), and suspecting it to be more serious than had been told her, she gave orders for the immediate despatch of another messenger, together with one of his Majesty's chief physicians who had remained here, regardless of his being upwards of seventy years old, and so gouty and infirm as to require great convenience and length of time for such a journey. Finally, at the very hour when these persons were departing, her chamberlain and the courier Francesco Piemontese returned, and being so fully assured of her consort's health, she on the other hand was yet more troubled to hear of his and the Emperor's current disputes with the Pope, being apprehensive lest they be now at open war with each other, and that the like many forthwith follow in every quarter with the French, who, as reported here, have declared themselves the protectors and defenders of the Pope's nephews and of his family, which, besides the other inconveniences it will cause, the one that most affects the Queen, is the further delay of the return of her consort, besides the increase of disturbance in England by reason of the encouragement which these movements, and the opportunity afforded by a fresh war, would give universally. As for many months the Queen has passed from one sorrow to another, your Serenity can imagine what a life she leads, comforting herself as usual with the presence and counsel of Cardinal Pole, to whose assiduous toil and diligence having intrusted the whole government of the kingdom, she is intent on enduring her troubles as patiently as she can.

Of late the most illustrious Lepute aforesaid has been incessantly occupied about despatches which he is sending to Brussels

1556.

and Italy in great haste, he having perhaps remonstrated (*atto officio*) in her Majesty's name, and on his own account as Apostolic Legate and member of the Papal See, not only with the Emperor and King Philip, but with the Pope likewise, to appease both parties, and if possible prevent such a stir, laying before them, in addition to the other disasters, the great detriment and ruin which the strife between them would cause this kingdom, where with great difficulty could the religion and the present state of things be maintained by reason of the many poisonous plants and roots (*male piante et radices*) in being there, these proceedings greatly encouraging the malcontents, to the injury and disservice of the sovereigns *ajoresuid*.

Cardinal Farnese wrote lately very earnestly to Cardinal Pole, desiring him to use his influence with King Philip to obtain the restitution of his church of Monreale in Sicily, and of his pensions in Spain, as also the territory of his sister-in-law, the Duchess of Parma, in the kingdom of Naples, saying that the most Christian King had commanded him to endeavour to effect this in virtue of the stipulation of the truce. The most illustrious Farnese *ajoresuid* evinces a great wish to recover the favour of King Philip; and he writes that he has now withdrawn from public business solely that he may not have occasion to injure his Majesty and his interests in anything. In order to do him better service, Cardinal Pole awaits the King's return that he may make more efficacious suit by word of mouth than by letter. I do not know whether he will now change his mind owing to these risks of a rupture in every direction.

The trials and sentences of the conspirators continue, the two who were not despatched at the last trial having been condemned, namely, "*Miladi*" Elizabeth's servant, who confessed to having known of the conspiracy, and the captain of the soldiers, by name Turner, their execution being deferred, perhaps for the purpose of adding to the number.

The proposed move of the Court to Dover and the sea has been countermanded, the King having written that he did not wish the Queen to take that road, perhaps to avert suspicion of things utterly at variance with his intentions, so in case of a change of residence her Majesty is expected to go (in the opposite direction) to Richmond.

It is also said that the ships will be ordered back and disarmed.

London, 23rd June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 24.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

526. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

Although he has communicated his opinion concerning the affairs of Rome both to the Regent Figueroa and to the Father Friar Bartolomeo Miranda, in consequence of the reports which had reached him from many quarters, he nevertheless deems it his duty to write to the King also on the same subject, having been unable to do so yesterday by reason of the haste with which the Queen despatched the courier. Will first of all repeat what he has already told the

1556.

King of the great comfort derived by him as usual on hearing through his Majesty's last letters of his constant goodwill towards the Pope and the Apostolic See, as also towards the general peace, for the universal benefit of Christendom, his goodness and piety in this matter being the more praiseworthy, as it is evident that the enemy of the human race labours continually to interrupt the commencement already made by fresh temptations, and to effect a greater rupture than has been ever witnessed in our times, as might easily come to pass, unless God of his infinite goodness deter King Philip from being induced to attempt anything by force of arms, save in accordance with clear and manifest justice, maintaining that sincere obedience to the Church in which he has been most holily educated.

Writes thus not without great cause, having heard from various quarters that his Majesty has been counselled, in case fortresses be raised in the territory lately given by the Pope to the Count of Montorio [Giovanni Caraffa], to prevent their erection by armed force, which would evidently be the commencement of war with the Pope, and as a necessary consequence many other disturbances must follow, to the very great detriment of the religion and of all Christendom. Requests his Majesty therefore, with all earnestness, well to ponder what is fit to do in this matter, he being so just and religious a sovereign as he is, and to bear well in mind, besides the many other favours granted him by God, the magnitude of that one, whereby he was made the chief minister for the restoration of the religion in England, and of her obedience to the Church, a victorious exploit, worthy of a greater triumph than was ever merited by any other prince for many centuries; so that if it is unbecoming for any Christian prince whatever to wage war on the Vicar of Christ, it less befits King Philip than any other; in addition to which, most especially he has a particular obligation towards the Roman Church, holding the kingdom of Naples from it in fee (*per feudo*). Should any person be of opinion that to prevent the raising of these fortresses a recourse to war is justifiable by reason of the danger and disturbance which they might cause to his said kingdom, be his Majesty pleased to consider that no sovereign has just cause to wage war on a neighbour for fortifying any place in his territory, although such fortification may seem detrimental to him, unless, however, there be some express stipulation to the contrary. Does not doubt but that the King of his innate justice and prudence knows this very well, and should anyone say that King Philip has cause to prevent this fortification, not so much on account of the Pope, as on that of other princes, one might allege to the contrary the example of Marc' Antonio Colonna, who being in the service of France, fortified Paliano itself, without being impeded by anybody, and nevertheless no such disturbances as those now apprehended took place; and although the nature of the present times may make these fortifications appear prejudicial to the kingdom of Naples, yet is this no just reason for preventing the Pope from fortifying his territory in such form as may seem best to him. It remains therefore for the King, not choosing to

1556.

exceed the limits of justice, in due and becoming manner to endeavour to persuade the Pope (in conformity with the order which is said to have been already given by him) to desist from raising this fortification, lest it give cause for disturbance and trouble hereafter, if not in the Pope's time; and should his Holiness notwithstanding think fit to continue thus fortifying, the King on the other hand, if such be his pleasure, can fortify in that direction on his own borders, and be thus prepared for defence against any attack. By no means should the King allow himself to be induced to wage war on the Pope, especially on account of the truce which had been made; so, as equity forbade the attack, he might reasonably anticipate not merely great praise before the world, but moreover hope for certain favour and protection from God against any person who at any time may seek to injure him.

Has chosen to write his opinion in this so important a matter freely to the King, as he considers himself bound to do so for several reasons; nor has he failed, nor will he fail, on the other hand, to perform such offices with the Pope as he has deemed suited to the post held by him, and to the obligation he has to represent to his Holiness whatever he believes to be for the service of God, and advantage and quiet of Christendom, and especially of England, whose welfare he is certain the King has duly at heart. Prays God to remove all cause of disturbance and fresh turmoil in Christendom, and to preserve the King pure and undefiled for his service in the administration of the realms committed to his Majesty's keeping.

London, 24th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

527. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The inhabitants of the kingdom of Naples are inclined to favour the ideas and projects of the Pope, and when consulting about what is to be done with regard to the affairs of his Holiness, there is always a diversity of opinion between the Emperor and the King, *his Imperial Majesty arguing in favour of proceeding boldly* (che si proceda gagliardamente), *whereas the King is averse to doing anything that may cause war.*

Two persons have died of the plague near the Emperor's villa (*casino*), one of whom is his druggist's shopman; so his Majesty, having become very apprehensive, caused the high road gate to be closed, opening the one through the park, and has desired his son not to give audience to anyone in public. He has also sent to Ghent to know whether that city is infected with this disease, his Majesty thinking of departure hence, and that the King also should go thither. It is feared especially, that owing to the number of persons who are coming hither with the King and Queen of Bohemia and the Duke of Cleves, as also those who have already arrived with the Duke of Brunswick the younger, the plague might spread in consequence of the unavoidable ceremonies. The queens have already left, and intend to remain for some days at a

1556.

place three leagues distant from Brussels, seeing that the regulations enforced do not produce the desired effect.

Brussels, 24th June 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 27.
Dispacci Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 6, B.

528. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Imperial Ambassador had audience of the Pope yesterday, and was greatly caressed by his Holiness, who told him not to fear, as even should the war break out he would always be respected and held dear. They spoke at great length about these disturbances, and settled for the ambassador and the Duke of Paliano to meet at the house of Cardinal St. Iago [S. Giacomo], to try and find means for pacifying matters, and the Duke has told his confidants that he will do so, though no one must suppose that the Pope will disarm unless they give him the best possible security.

Letters have been received from Cardinal Caraffa dated the 17th, giving account of his reception at the French court, as by the enclosed copy of one to Aldobrandini from his son, who is with the Cardinal. His negotiations with the King are reported variously. Many persons, and some on the authority of the French ambassador, say the King will never fail the Pope, and that he has already sent orders to give him pecuniary and military assistance.

Rome, 27th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.
Dispacci Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 6, B.

529. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As an attack from the Imperialists is expected here, they are reinforcing the infantry and cavalry on the borders, and bringing fresh troops into Rome. The causes of these suspicions, besides what I wrote in former letters, are, that the Duke of Florence is said to have doubled his garrisons at the confines of the papal territory, and to have despatched four captains to make new levies; though the ambassador denies this, saying his Duke is surprised at the malignants about the Pope, who seek to exasperate his Holiness against him. At Naples also there are some galleys in readiness, fourteen of them having gone out of harbour, it is said, to pirate, and (which is considered an important circumstance) the Duke of Alva has had the posts stationed from the Abruzzi to the borders of Paliano.

The Duke of Alva's agent told one of his confidants that he believed the Spaniards would assist Marc' Antonio Colonna to recover his territory. He (Colonna) is said to have left Venice some days ago with the Captain Aldana, the Imperialists (*questi*) declaring that by this time he will be in the Abruzzi, and to-day Don Garciasso said he had news of his being at Pescara.

Rome, 27th June 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.

June ?

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

p. 177 recto.

No date of
time in MS.530. CARDINAL POLE to [GIOVANNI BERNARDINO SCOTTO],
CARDINAL OF TRANI.*

Derives no less benefit and comfort from Scotto's letters, than Scotto says he receives from his; they have need of each other's prayers; Scotto is never forgotten in those of Pole, who believes that this good office is reciprocated; and in truth if even private individuals living in quiet, require the aid of their own prayers and of those of others for their defence against the perils and temptations of the world, by so much the more are they needed by those who, holding some public post, must have much to distract and trouble them; but to those who seek to serve Him heartily, God increases His gifts in proportion to their need, and Pole knows by experience that he is never more inclined to ask His assistance than when most impeded. Is certain that Scotto finds himself in the same case, and that although hindered by the present state of affairs he is but the more earnest in his prayers; most especially, considering the current commotions by which the Church is so vexed and harassed.

Of the state of England, Scotto will have heard constantly from Pole's agent. By their familiar, Messer Marianno Vittorio, he sent the Pope the decrees formed by the Synod in London, and together with it another writing on the same subject, and would have wished Scotto to have seen the whole, to hear his opinion about it. The bishops are to meet again next November, to settle what remains for adjustment, according to the necessities discovered by them in the course of the summer when visiting their dioceses; nor can they be few in this vineyard, which during so many years has remained an ill-cultivated desert, in which, however, the infinite mercy of God has preserved and propagated no few relics of his good seed (*non poche reliquie del suo bon seme*) in England by means of his holy vicars, and of the ministers of the Apostolic See, and above all, of this most serene and most pious Queen, who never fails favouring and aiding by all means the restoration and increase of the religion in England; for the prosperity of which country, and of her Majesty, is certain that Scotto prays constantly, as he says. Monsignor Priuli, and Pole's other familiars, Scotto's affectionate servants, thank him much for his loving salutations.

London [June 1556?]

[Italian.]

June ?

MS. St. Mark's

Library.

No date of
time in MS.531. CARDINAL POLE to the Ambassador [FRANCESCO DE]
VARGAS.

Would have been very glad to see him, had he come to England, but as it is the King's pleasure that he return to Venice, Pole wishes him all prosperity, and thanks him greatly for his loving offers, which he reciprocates, loving him much for his goodness and virtues. The Queen, who is well acquainted with Vargas' worthy qualities,

* Such was the trust placed by Paul IV. in the Cardinal of Trani that he consigned the "Fisherman's ring" to him, with full power to sign papal briefs at his own option, and Cardinal Pole's correspondence with him at this period is therefore valuable. A biographical notice of Scotto may be read in Cardella, vol. 4, p. 345.

1556.

was glad to hear of his being sent back to Venice at this present time, knowing from the past how skilful a minister he is, and how acceptable to that most illustrious Republic; and as her Majesty will in like manner have to make use of him there, it will always give Pole pleasure to hear from him.

London [June ? 1556.]

[*Italian.*]

July 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

532. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with KING PHILIP, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the day after their Majesties' departure, the counsellors of state, with the exception of the Bishop of Arras, who remained here, went to them, nor is any ambassador or negotiator allowed to go to any of the places where the Emperor and the King of England are lodged, unless on urgent business, as was the case this morning with the Florentine ambassador, who moreover said that he should return this evening. The victuals required for the table of their Majesties, and of the few persons who accompanied them, are sent from hence daily. The plague does not increase so as to render residence here dangerous, many people merely withdrawing to the neighbouring gardens, as I have done; so everybody infers that their Majesties departed more to discuss and decide in quiet and secrecy the important matters now in course of negotiation with the Pope and the Kings of France and Bohemia, than from fear of the plague. Yesterday King Philip, with his counsellors, went to the Emperor at Laura, where they remained with his Imperial Majesty and Queen Maria until night. The harbinger (*forriero*) of the King of Bohemia has arrived, and was preceded by Count Salm and the Provost of Trent, the chief intimates of the King of the Romans, they having come to pay their court and wait upon his son, who they say will be here on the 15th instant, with a large retinue of several lords of Germany, and according to report King Philip will go to meet him at Louvain. By advices from "Laura" it is heard that in the council there was a discussion with the confessors about the repeal by the Pope of the concession from Julius III. to the Emperor, allowing his Majesty to take to himself, and alienate at his good pleasure, certain estates of the order of Calatrava, to the amount of 600,000 crowns, nor is it yet known whether they have determined to obey his Holiness or not; but, as Don Bernardino de Mendoza at this consultation, and at all the others when there was a question of the Pope, said, their Majesties would go dissembling so long, that they will repent themselves of it; and as he always recommends no farther delay in commencing the war, the French ambassador, therefore, on hearing this language said very wrathfully that if the Imperialists followed this advice, and encouraged Marc' Antonio Colonna, as they were understood to do, they will find that his most Christian Majesty will not endure it.

Brussels, 1st July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.
July 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

533. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

King Henry informed him that the Legate Caraffa had heard that the Imperialists, under the name of Marc' Antonio Colonna, were making military movements to prevent the fortification of Paliano, and to sack Rome; and that subsequently these statements were heard to be mere reports, devoid of facts, and still less could there be fear of the sack of Rome, for which much greater forces would be needed. He continued that he would not omit to do what his predecessor had done for the defence of Holy Church; wherefore, should the Emperor or his son assist Marc' Antonio Colonna openly, he also would do the like by his Holiness, and if they did so secretly, that he in secret would give similar assistance; but that if Marc' Antonio Colonna, with his own forces and without assistance from others, resist the Pope, he would not interfere; but to show the Pope that the promise given by word should be followed by deeds he had ordered the 3,000 French infantry, destined to garrison the fortresses in Tuscany, to disembark at Civitavecchia.

His Majesty added that the Constable had told all this to the ambassador resident here from the Emperor and his son, and that he professed to know nothing whatever about it; and that in his opinion matters would not proceed much farther, because the Emperor, on hearing that he, the King, purposed resenting any attack on the Pope, would not choose to break the truce, and that had he intended to act in earnest, he should have commenced by doing something, and threatened afterwards; but by giving time, and hearing that his most Christian Majesty took the Pope under his protection, he would have more to do than he had imagined, although his Holiness of himself was very strong, having already 6,000 infantry in readiness, and was raising 4,000 more, besides his 8,000 militiamen, and will not have any want of money. That had the Pope chosen to take his advice, he would not now be in this trouble, as his Majesty counselled him first of all to fortify Paliano, and afterwards to give the Duke the investiture of it; neither did he approve of the coming hither at present of Cardinal Caraffa, as it would have been better for him to have remained at Rome, the Cardinal being a soldier, and a very able one, and the Duke a good sort of man (*una buona persona*).

In conclusion, his Majesty said that the day after to-morrow the Cardinal would be back from Paris; that on Sunday he would christen his Majesty's daughter, and depart a day or two afterwards. The words which passed between the Pope and Cardinal Tournon have been heard here, and although it is said that after they parted the Pope sent to visit him, retracting all the injurious expressions which he had addressed to him, I am told he will return to France, the King not choosing to keep at Rome a chief minister who is not agreeable to his Holiness.

The King sent M. de Rambouillet to Rome with the orders for the French troops to land at Civitavecchia, and for those who are to remain in Tuscany, where M. de Montluc, Knight of St. Michael, will go as the King's lieutenant, and to tell the Pope in his name

1556.

that he will not fail giving him every assistance for his defence, but that he requests his Holiness to proceed so as not to be the first to cause the rupture of the truce, because as his Majesty believed that everybody will take in good part the assistance which the King will give him for his need, so he does not wish the world to suppose that the breaking of the truce could have proceeded from himself. *The whole court is sorry that war should be waged on any account whatever, it being wished that the truce should be maintained; and were it not universally believed that the Emperor will not give cause to move war, still deeper regret would be evinced by all.* During the last few days the Imperial ambassador has negotiated with the King, for that in lieu of the money, which in virtue of a clause in the truce he is bound to pay the Duke of Savoy annually, he do assign a fund (*un fondo*) in Piedmont; but the Constable has so protracted the matter that the day of St. John the Baptist, when the first payment was to have been made, has passed, and has put off the decision until the coming hither of M. de Brissac.

Before he left the court the Legate Caraffa despatched a courier to the Legate Motula at Brussels, and should he not be there, to the Nuncio, to let them know what he had negotiated here about the peace and the Council; and the courier brings back word that Motula not having arrived, the Nuncio acquainted the Emperor and King Philip with the announcement from Caraffa, and they replied that on Motula's arrival they would give the reply; but it is understood here that by the Pope's order Motula has stopped on the way.

Morette, 2nd July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 3.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

534. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although what the Pope said to me to-day at audience is nearly the same as said by him heretofore, and as written by me, yet I will not omit notifying it in detail, so that your Serenity may clearly comprehend his mind. After the usual civilities expressed by him with extreme affection and gentleness, he said in the course of conversation, "It is astonishing that now, when that iniquitous rascal, the Emperor (*quell' iniquo e tristo huomo dell' Imperator*), a cripple both in mind and body (*storpiato ed el corpo e dell' animo*); and that Philip, both from his lack of ability and experience, is not to be held in any account; and that they have lost repute, and find all their realms in ruin and despair; that Spain cannot endure them; whilst England rejects their yoke; that they should choose to kindle war. If they wage it, we shall suppose it to be the mere will and providence of God for their punishment; nor may it be imagined that we will fail to have recourse to those final and tremendous weapons given us by Christ; depriving him of the greater part of his forces, which are the tenths, the half-fruits (*mezi fruti*), the appointments to bishoprics, and other benefices. Do you suppose that we will fail, by legitimate processes, to convict and deprive him as a heretic? Do you believe that as feudatory of the

1556.

kingdom of Naples, we for open injuries and misdemeanours, we, who represent the Pope by whom he was invested with the fief, cannot deprive him of it? To tell you frankly, had there not been one single respect which restrained me, everything would already have been in flames; that respect is, that being placed where we are by the goodness of God, and by the duty of our office having always sought peace, we choose never to incur the reproach of having been the first to violate it. We have borne much, and will continue to do so, as long as we can with our dignity. The King of France evinces great wish for peace, and we can turn him whichever way we please; if the others were equally well inclined we should already enjoy peace and quiet. In short, we will not be the first, we will not call the Signory [of Venice] save in case of need. That kinsman of ours, De' Sanguini, has arrived from the Imperial court, telling us much about the goodwill which the King of England said he bore us; the better the words uttered by him, the greater and more reasonable is our suspicion of him, and we have ordered additional provision to be made. Should they advance, we will send the Duke, our nephew, to show his face to them." Having finished this long discourse, in which he often said the same things over and over again, I thanked the Pope for what he announced to your Serenity.

Rome, 3rd July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 4.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

535. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I sent my secretary to Cardinal Tournon, who said that the King wrote that were the Imperialists to attack the Pope, his most Christian Majesty should not consider himself a christian were he to fail assisting him, and therefore if they make war he will render his Holiness every sort of assistance. When the secretary enquired if by rupture (*rottura*), he meant assistance given to Marc' Antonio Colonna for the recovery of his state, the Cardinal replied, "I would fain speak with those who counsel the King of England to assume this undertaking, to show them how little a Paliano signifies, and how sure they may be that a future Pope will avenge them; and were they to say to me, 'We act thus, lest Paliano with the assistance of the King of France become another Parma,' I should answer that the way to render it such, is war; as were the Pope to demand a French garrison for its defence, we should give it him. I would prove the danger to which they expose themselves, should they choose to make war on the Pope, because, as the King of France will not allow the Pope to be harassed (*sbattuta*), so is it credible that the other Christian powers, especially the Italians, will not tolerate it. For my own part I can do no more, and am very sorry to see this stir." The secretary then went to Cardinal Medici.* His right reverend Lordship said to him, "I will tell you the discourse I held with the Duke of Paliano for the benefit of all Italy and of this Holy See, as an

* Gianangelo de Medici, a Milanese, who on the 26th December 1559, succeeded Paul IV., with the title of Pius IV.

1556.

Italian and a cardinal, not as the dependant of any faction, because I am the Pope's servant, and came back from Milan contrary to the advice of many persons, to run the same chance (*per correr la medesima fortuna*) as his Holiness. I have told the Duke of Paliano that it would be well to find means for quieting the present disturbances, as they may produce infinite mischief, as, for instance, to render the King of England master of what little remains of Italy; it being but too manifest that he may be said to surround all the States of the Church with the forces of the kingdom of Naples, of Tuscany, of the Milanese, and of Liguria; and having so many paid troops, the greater part being foreigners, that they may go wherever they please without opposition; besides which they are the masters of this sea; nor may it be said that the King of France or the Italian powers will give assistance, for they are unable to do so in time; and if by misfortune the Imperialists make themselves masters of Rome, how long would they wait before disbanding their forces? The last time [in 1527] when the League had so large an army, they remained for two years, and did not depart until Lautrec went to Naples to divert them; nor should reliance be placed on popular discontent, as it has been seen not to succeed. The extreme harshness of the Pope's language to the Imperial ministers should be somewhat mitigated; he ought to make them certain concessions in Spain and elsewhere; he should cease insulting those Princes, and rather soothe them, and remove the suspicion reasonably entertained by them, and they would then, perhaps, not care about a Colonna sief, if not from goodness of nature, at least for the sake of attending to some of their greater anxieties, such as the establishment of the kingdom of England, and the affair of the Empire."

He then said that the matter of the Council was most pernicious for the Church in these present times, as not being held with the consent of the Powers, there was very great danger of schism, which could not but entail war. In conclusion, Cardinal Medici said he told the Duke that without infringing the truce, the Imperialists might put the Pope to great straits, by keeping on the frontiers with their ordinary paid forces, thus compelling his Holiness to incur a monthly expenditure of 40,000 crowns; and he added, "The Duke seemed to me very well to comprehend these reasons, which I shall also repeat to the Pope, should he choose to listen to me without anger; and God knows that I do it for conscience-sake, as I perceive the manifest peril of our being taken unawares without commanders, without money, without men-at-arms, and without foreign troops, which is tantamount to leaving the whole of the Campagna to the enemy."

Rome, 4th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

536. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with KING PHILIP, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday arrived here Don Cesar de Avalos, brother of the Marquis of Pescara [Governor of Milan], who has sent him to King Philip to protest that unless his Majesty send him such supplies as necessary for the preservation of the State of Milan, he

1556.

shall lose it. Three couriers have arrived from Italy, from the Marquis of Sarria, and the Duke of Alva, and the Duke of Florence. The Marquis informs their Majesties that having determined to leave Rome he was commanded not to go out of the city, *nor is this considered a good sign of his Holiness' disposition, but a fixed project for detaining him until the convenient moment arrive for a rupture with their Majesties.* On the arrival of his courier, the Florentine Ambassador went to the King at Laura, and gave news that the Pope has sent an order to the Cardinal of Pisa not to come to their Majesties without a fresh commission from his Holiness. The French Ambassador having heard that their Majesties' ministers say they hope that Marc' Antonio Colonna will recover his state, *said very angrily to my secretary that his most Christian Majesty would never permit the See Apostolic, or the person of his Holiness, nor any member of the Caraffa family, to be injured, because they have been named in the truce, and between his Holiness and his Majesty, a secret league has been already made.* He added that he had presented a memorial to the King of Spain with regard to the frontiers claimed by his King in these parts, and King Philip had the matter despatched immediately by the council, which sent it back to the Bishop of Arras for him to announce the decision to the ambassador, who is satisfied, as the points which remain for settlement are few and unimportant. The captains of the five hundred cavalry on these frontiers have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness, as they are to be sent into Italy 10 and 15 at a time, and they will receive money for the cost of the journey; and Count Amerigo Lodrone, who came hither to demand the arrears of his soldiers, and of his father, who died at Casale, was told by Don Bernardino de Mendoza that the King will soon give him employment in Italy, and that he was therefore not to depart, as he had said publicly he would do, and with dissatisfaction, from inability to obtain the aforesaid arrears.

Four days ago the Emperor sent for his confessor, having chosen to confess and communicate on the festival of the visitation of the blessed Virgin Mary, and when the confessor returned he told the Nuncio that his Majesty affirmed to him on his conscience, that he much desired to execute his resolve of going off to Spain to end his life in the monastery selected by him. Not the slightest word is said of the return hither of their Majesties, and indeed it is generally supposed that they will choose to keep all the ambassadors and negotiators at a distance until they have settled the affairs with the King of Bohemia; and they sit every day in the Council of State together with Queen Maria, to whom King Philip shows every mark of affection and honour, so as to dispose her favourably for the business he has to transact with the King and Queen of Bohemia, she being a very suitable instrument for mediation between one and the other of their Majesties. The deputies of these provinces departed without awaiting any reply to the three demands which they made of his Majesty, seeing that the Duke of Savoy, who remained here as head of the government said nothing more about the million and a half of gold demanded of them; he is now gone to Mecklin to have some pieces of artillery cast on a new principle

1556.

by a famous cannon founder there, and the Bishop of Arras alone remains in this town, *which causes some comment, some persons being of opinion that the King does not wish for him in his privy council, choosing it to consist solely of Spaniards; whilst others say that his right reverend Lordship would not go there, knowing that his repute would be far inferior to that which he enjoyed when serving the Emperor, and that King Philip chooses Don Ruy Gomez to be head of everything.*

Brussels, 5th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

537. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday all the ambassadors here were invited to the christening of the King's daughter; the godfathers were, the Cardinal Legate Caraffa, in the name of his Holiness, and the Duke de Guise, and the godmothers, Madame de St. Pol and Madame de Montpensier, and the infant was named Vittoria, which was the name borne by the mother of his Holiness.* We afterwards supped with the King, but at a separate table. After supper the Legate came with the Nuncio to take leave of us, and state the causes of his departure; regretting being compelled to go back to Rome, and leaving this negotiation for peace and the Council imperfect, but that the rumours current in Italy compelled him to do so, although it might be said that in a certain way he had performed the office assigned him by the Pope, having made his statement to the most Christian King, and received from him the reply which he had communicated to all of us.

He then complained of the Colonna family, and said that although his Holiness was so supreme a prince, that his affairs were not to be judged by anyone, but it was his province to judge every other prince, yet had he drawn up the process and published it, that it might be known that his Holiness merely exacts what is just, and that the Colonna family deserve every punishment, as was also known to Pope Paul the Third, who deprived the Lord Ascanius of his territory (*stato*), which he recovered on the accession of Pope Julius, who, from being low-minded (*per bassezza d'animo*), would not continue the judicial prosecution; to which excesses were added fresh outrages by Marc' Antonio Colonna (calling him a rascal, "*furfante*"); so the Pope had chosen to punish him, and although he was taking up arms, yet the Almighty would assist his Holiness, and those who aid and favour Marc' Antonio Colonna, should beware of the anger of God. On this matter the Legate expatiated rather angrily, repeating the same expressions more forcibly, and turning for the most part towards the Emperor's ambassador, who replied in Spanish (although he speaks Italian well) that he did not suppose the Legate had called the ambassadors but to perform an office with

* The Pope's mother, Vittoria Camponessa, was a brave woman, of masculine habits, and a bold rider, and a month or two before giving birth to Gianpietro Caraffa, when galloping along a mountain pass to the sanctuary of Montevergine, she was stopped by a hermit, who desired her to proceed at a gentler pace, because the fruit of her womb was destined to become Pope. The title of "*Mater Castrorum*," given to Catherine de' Medici, entitled her daughter to the name borne by the mother of Paul IV.

1556.

them on this his departure ; but perceiving him to enter on another topic, with regard to which, having no commission from his princes, who sent him to increase his most Christian Majesty's good will, and not to find opportunity for disagreements, he should therefore make no answer ; and that even had the Legate wished to speak to him about particulars, he ought not to have done so in the presence of so many ambassadors, who would estimate the importance of this proceeding, but rather call him aside, when he would perhaps have answered to the point, and maintained the honour of the Emperor and of his son.

The Cardinal then interrupted him, saying that if the ambassador would go to his chamber the next morning he would speak to him freely, and, in case of any reply, should have such a rejoinder as became him ; but should he not make any reply, and that it be made by others elsewhere, the Pope was well able to answer anybody ; but that it was evident that Marc' Antonio Colonna was not of sufficient force to wage war without the assistance of others, his auxiliaries being Spaniards, and troops of other nations drawn from the kingdom of Naples, to be joined by those in Tuscany with the Duke of Florence ; and then, turning to me, the Legate, with the fury of speech then upon him (*con quell' ardor del parlare nel quale era*), said, " If the Venetian ambassador chose to announce the advices which he has naturally (*ragionevolmente*) received from Venice, everybody would know how these matters are proceeding, for it is notorious that Marc' Antonio Colonna has been to Venice, and that Aldana went to bring him away from there ; and everybody knows that Aldana is a Spanish captain, and I know him very well, as I do all those in the service of the Emperor, whom I served for 18 years, and owing to the misbehaviour (*li mali portamenti*) of his ministers I was obliged to depart, and subsequently served another prince, until I changed my habit, and now serve Christ and His Church, for which I am disposed to die ;" adding that he had no doubt but that God would assist the Pope to chastise his disobedient vassals ; and that as they threatened to sack Rome, he, Caraffa, was compelled to stay with his Holiness and the other Cardinals, and that if necessary they would all die willingly, increasing the number of martyrs who had shed their blood in that same city.

When the Cardinal became pacified, having thus far spoken very angrily, the Imperial ambassador again rejoined that he was glad his right reverend Lordship had found his most Christian Majesty so well disposed, but that he could not complain of his [Simon Renard's] Princes, at whose courts no Legate has yet been accredited, and they had been unable to state their intention ; and that his right reverend Lordship ought not to depart hence, preferring his own cause to that of the public, but continue the negotiation ; or at least he ought not to incite his most Christian Majesty to change his good purpose. Thereupon the Legate, again flying into a passion (*accendendosi*), said that he knew what he had to do, and did not require to be prompted, and, that he was an honest man, and had always acted as men of honour do ; but that when a sack of Rome was threatened, he did not consider it so slight a cause as not to

1556.

take precedence of all others. Then M. de Lansac, drawing near, said it was already night, and that it would be well for everybody to go to rest.

Thus ended this colloquy, which was heard by many persons, Cardinal Caraffa speaking for the most part in a very loud voice. The English ambassador [Dr. Wotton] added that he hoped that if his right reverend Lordship went to Rome he would not fail to perform every good office for the quiet of Christendom; after whom I also approached him, and said that having heard that he was on the eve of departure, I would take good leave without troubling him farther, but he answered me immediately, "No, no, I choose you to come and see me again," as I think of doing the day before his departure, which will take place in three or four days.

This conversation held with the ambassadors has seemed strange to everybody, as neither the time nor the place were adapted to it (che nè il tempo nè il loco lo ricercasse), and I individually regretted what Cardinal Caraffa said about the advices from Venice, to which I did not think fit to make any answer at the moment, for the avoidance of untoward discussion; but when we ambassadors were returning all together [from Fontainebleau to Morette], I on the way said to the Imperial ambassador that I was surprised at the Legate's having uttered those words, because I declared that neither from your Serenity nor from others had I received notice of these things; and he, showing me that he held this in no account, requested me, on the other hand, to bear in mind what I had heard for such occasions as might arise, and he also performed the like office with the Mantuan ambassador. A good opportunity having presented itself, I also adroitly made a similar communication to the English ambassador.

Morette, 6th July 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

July 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

538. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 30th ulto., Lord la Warre (Milord Alvard) was condemned to death,* and was to have been executed two days afterwards, together with the two who were sentenced to death a long while ago,† and who until now have been in hopes of pardon, for after the populace had already assembled to witness the spectacle, the officials and the necessary ministers being in attendance, the execution was delayed, and is now expected to take place to-morrow; after which, some others will be despatched before the Queen's departure

* "The last day of Juin was led from the Towre unto Yeld-halle, Wylliam West, sqwyre, odur-wyse callyd lord La Ware, and east of he [high] treason, to be drane and quartered." (Machyn's Diary, A.D. 1556, p. 109. Printed for the Camden Society, 1848.)

† Harry Peckham and John Daniel, the persons here alluded to, were tried at the Guildhall in London on the 7th May 1556, and their execution took place on the 7th July following. (See Verney Papers, Camden Society Publication, p. 70, and Machyn as above, p. 109. From this letter it would seem that the execution did not take place until the 8th July.)

1556.

next week for the seat (*luogo*) of the Archbishopric of Canterbury 17 (sic) miles hence, where—the King approving—she will remain, awaiting his Majesty's return, and then go to Greenwich; and in the meanwhile, to say the truth, a change of residence is not merely requisite but necessary for her, by reason of the present intense heat, owing to the unusual and extraordinary drought, on account of which, although processions are made continually, they nevertheless as yet seem to profit little.

Of the remaining prisoners in the Tower, Sir William Courtenay, Carew, and Cheke have so much liberty, that their wives are allowed to go thither freely to pass the night with them; and with regard to Cheke, the theologians continue gaining ground with him in the matter of religion (*continuano li theologi di guadagnarlo nella religione*).

The affairs of the conspiracy are apparently at an end, many days having elapsed without further arrests; and as nothing more is elicited, it remains but to despatch the rest of the prisoners; so unless other events come to pass unexpectedly, there will be little to tell, everything else proceeding quietly; and the Queen by her orders still continues to maintain her neutrality, although harassed as usual owing to the present suspicions between the Pope and her Consort,* on account of which Cardinal Pole was on the point of sending an express to Rome, but apparently awaits the return of Francesco Piamontese.

Cardinal Caraffa wrote from France to Cardinal Pole that he had kept the Abbot of San Saluto with him, not only to have full information about the past negotiations concerning the peace, but to employ him about it, if necessary, which does not seem to have much pleased Cardinal Pole, who had previously written to the Abbot ordering him distinctly not to await Caraffa's coming to the French court, but to depart thence previously, for the avoidance of any distrust on the part of the Imperialists; because as the Abbot is known to be the dependant of Cardinal Pole, they might suspect some secret scheme to the discredit of his right reverend Lordship and of this kingdom; but San Saluto, not having received the order until after Caraffa's arrival, could not go away without seeing him. The order for his departure is now at any rate repeated, although it is supposed to have been already complied with, it being reported here that Caraffa likewise has departed.

The ships were disarmed and paid off in Portsmouth harbour; only seven being detained to serve for the King's passage whenever the time for it shall arrive.

London, 7th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

539. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 6th instant, the Legate communicated to me confidentially through one of his gentlemen that although he had served the

* In the original, "tra sua Maestà, et il serenissimo Re;" *Maestà* being evidently a slip of the pen for "*Santità*."

1556.

Emperor and other princes for many years, he had always been determined to abandon everyone whenever an opportunity arose for your Serenity to avail yourself of his personal services, and that he continued of the same mind; adding that the words uttered by him the other evening were not for the purpose of performing any bad office whatever, but merely to call me as witness for the affairs of Italy.

On the morrow I went to the Cardinal, who told me he had heard that the Emperor gave your Serenity's ambassador at his court to understand that he, the Legate, was come to France not to treat peace, or matters relating to the Council, but to establish a league between his Holiness, the most Christian King, and the Duke of Ferrara, with the determination (deliberazione) to drive everyone out of Italy except themselves, the three allies (coligati), make an Italian Duke of Milan, crown one of the sons of his most Christian Majesty King of Naples, cause this Queen of France [Catherine de' Medici] to renounce her rights to the State of Urbino in favour of the Pope, and expel its duke; and that without any further call upon your Serenity to join the league, he, on his return to Italy, would promise you, on behalf of the said league, certain towns in Sicily, the names of which he did not remember; their intention being, after all these undertakings, and having raised fresh funds, to turn the forces of the league against the remaining princes of Italy; and that the Emperor offered your Serenity a defensive Italian league, which, if accepted, he would give you in effect those towns in Sicily which others had merely promised you by word. But the Legate declared that these things were all false, and that he had not negotiated any other public business with his most Christian Majesty than what related to the peace and the Council; but that finding it impossible to trust the Imperialists, he had endeavoured to render himself secure through another sovereign, and thus guarantee himself against their plots. Then he narrated the Pope's disagreements with the Emperor, and the outrages to which he had been subjected by his Imperial Majesty for many years, in like manner as the Legate himself, after the war of Germany, at which time his term of service with the Emperor expired; and he said that these and other causes prevented him from ever trusting his Imperial Majesty.*

In reply I thanked him, and as to the words uttered in the presence of the ambassadors I said I took the whole in good part.

Cardinal Caraffa then commenced speaking about the affairs of Paliano, and told me the orders left by him at Rome for the defence of that city, as also of Paliano and Orvieto, and of other places towards Tuscany, in case the Duke of Alva move troops; and he added that the Imperialists had sent the Pope's relation, Don Ferrante di Sanguini, to exhort him to suspend the fortification of Paliano, and to treat an agreement, but that the Imperialists, understanding that it was already rendered almost a fortress, stopped him on the road; and the Legate thought that in fact by this time

* Et senza chiamar altramente la Vra Serenità nella Liga, al ritorno suo in Italia gli prometteria in nome di essa Liga alcune terre in Sicilia.

1556.

its fortifications were completed, and he had advices purporting that 1,300 infantry, with 16 pieces of artillery, had entered the place; the most Christian King having also ordered the 3,000 foot soldiers destined for Tuscany to march for the Pope's service if necessary; but that he hoped the Imperialists would not advance farther, but merely guard their own places.

I enquired of his Lordship the time of his departure, and he said he thought it would take place this week, and he would stop both on the road and at Lyons in order to hear the reply received from the Emperor, and should it be such as to give hopes of concluding a good peace, he would return to the court.

The Legate said he knew the King would grant him everything were it not for the Constable, who, partly to save the King the expense, and in part from his rivalry with the house of Guise, would not let him do it; and he then added, "When the Cardinal of Lorraine was at Rome I did him the utmost honour, and neither he nor any of his family have made any demonstration towards me, not even a glass of wine (*pur d'un bichier di vino*), but I do not care about it, and all the honour done me proceeded from the Constable; but, thank God, I have obtained all that I needed from his most Christian Majesty's good grace without the assistance of anyone."

Morette, 8th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 9.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

540. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At 2 a.m. last Wednesday morning the Emperor's postmaster and all his attendants were arrested, but after examination these last were released, the postmaster alone and two of his servants being detained, as also the letter-bag (*lo spaccio*) which he was preparing for the Imperial court. Proceedings of such importance made me go to-day to the palace for audience of the Pope. Whilst I was waiting in the [audience] chamber (*nella camera*), there arrived Don Garcilasso,* who told me he meant to ask leave of his Holiness, adding that the Papal government (*questi signori*) had seized a letter of his (*una sua lettera*), but that as minister of the Emperor and the King of England he thought himself at liberty to write what he pleased for the benefit of his sovereigns. The Pope, passing through the chamber where I was, most graciously laid his hand on my shoulder, telling me to be pleased to wait until he had despatched certain business, when he would give me audience, and he withdrew with the Duke of Paliano, the fiscal advocate (*il fiscale*), and the secretary Monsignor of Avignon. In the meanwhile the Imperial ambassador Marquis Sarria arrived for audience, and when the Duke came forth the Pope gave it him, and as the Signor Ferrante di Sanguini had brought Don Garcilasso he caused a demand for audience to be made of his Holiness, who replied that there was not time, as he had to attend the congregation of the

* Juan Garcilasso de la Vega (see Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index).

1556.

Inquisition, which he did, telling me to take patience and not to go away.

The ambassador and Don Garcilasso departed, and on going downstairs Don Garcilasso was arrested and taken into the castle. The ambassador resisted somewhat, saying that he had been with his Holiness who spoke him fair (*la quale l'harea usato buone parole*), and gave him no cause to fear such an act, and that if they took Don Garcilasso away prisoner he also would go with him; but the Signor Ferrante di Sanguini told him to return, as he would accompany Don Garcilasso into the castle. Simultaneously they sent to seize his papers in the house of Cardinal Pacheco, where he lodged, which occupied them until past 8 p.m., when the congregation broke up, the Pope departing much exhausted both from the heat and because he had looseness of the bowels (*et anco perchè se li mosse il corpo*), and he sent the Duke of Paliano to tell me that he was tired, and to return on the morrow. The Duke proceeded to say that "one Franzozin, the Imperial postmaster's servant, was found near Terracina on foot without either sword or travelling dress, which causing suspicion he was arrested, and on his person three letters were found, one from the postmaster without any signature requesting the Duke of Alva's secretary to obtain for him the agency (*la commissaria*) between Terracina and Velletri; and two from Garcilasso, one in cipher* and the other without, which was so clear as not to need the ciphered one, telling the Duke that Marquis Sarria the ambassador was a simpleton (*era un dapoco*), and that nothing good must be expected from him, as two good words from the Pope blinded him to the honour and advantage of his Princes, and that the way to do deeds was to push forward with the cavalry and come double quick time with 4,000 Spaniards and 8,000 Italians to Rome, taking what could be got on the march, and sending the galleys to Nettuno and Civita Vecchia. When these letters were given me, and after opening them, not choosing to trouble his Holiness, who had already gone to rest, I left the palace with a single groom and went to the governor, ordering him to arrest the postmaster and all his subordinates, as he did. The postmaster was examined, and not having been asked about the agency demanded by him, I had him re-examined on this point, and he confessed to having asked for it, whereupon being asked his reason for doing so, he replied because he thought they would make themselves masters of the whole of the Papal territory. Being then tortured (*messo alla corda*), he confessed to the recommendation given by them to the Duke of Alva about the infantry, cavalry, and galleys, and about coming to Rome, and I believe it, because, as I told the Pope, this was the way to attack us, but the Lord will assist us."

Having heard that there were letters from France about which nothing was known, I asked him for a word on the subject, and he

* Concerning this ciphered despatch, Sir Edward Carne wrote to Queen Mary from Rome, on the 3rd August 1556, "After Garcilasso's letters had been deciphered in Venice (for none by lack of the original cipher could do it here), it appeared there was some privy treason against the Pope, but the names of persons and places could not be made out." (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 242.)

1556.

answered me, "From you nothing can be concealed; I have letters from the King and the Constable dated the 1st, promising to assist the Pope on every occasion, and also not to fail with regard to my duchy, and moreover that they had told the Imperial ambassador resident with the King of this their resolve, communicating it also to the French Ambassador at Brussels."

The Duke also told me that the King had already remitted 60,000 crowns, which are here in a bank, and that he would give orders for the Pope to be assisted with 6,000 French infantry, of whom 1,500 may be now at Civitavecchia. He said besides that the Papal nuncio at the Imperial court informed him that the ambassador Marquis Sarria was in favour with the Emperor because he had always sought quiet and performed good offices for the Pope, whilst Garcilasso on the contrary had always done his worst, endeavouring to disparage the ambassador and render him odious to the Emperor.

The first arrest of the postmaster was considered important, but this of Don Garcilasso most important, the Duke of Alva having the greatest possible regard for him; so here the war is supposed to have commenced.

Rome [Friday?], 9th July 1556. 10h. 15m. p.m.

[*Italian.*]

July 10.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6. B.

541. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to-day for audience of the Pope, who said to me, "We daily detect their acts of treachery. Tassiss has disclosed much and will also reveal other matters. We have arrested Garcilasso, nor would we scruple to do the like by his chief [the Duke of Alva?] also, were he here. We would fain learn further particulars from Garcilasso likewise. They recommended a march to Rome, and had divided our territory, *vivit Dominus*; they will perhaps be compelled to defend their own. We have no lack of forces; we have powerful Princes who will give us assistance; they will be unable to rob (*robbar*) us, as is their wont, of any place of importance, as we have opened our eyes. Should they choose to attack us overtly with armies in the field, they will repent them of it. We purpose speaking about this in public Congregation in the presence of all the ambassadors, and shall perhaps convoke it to-morrow, and we now pray you also by no means to absent yourself. We mean to proceed cautiously, imitating the most illustrious Signory, who always acts slowly and with much consideration, as should be done in state affairs. This tyrant of an Emperor is no longer to be held in account; he does not possess the great forces attributed to him, and what proof has his son given of himself? He enjoys no repute either as a soldier or as a statesman. Their territories in short are like an old house from which the removal of one single stone brings the whole structure to the ground. If we begin to give them a little cudgelling (*qualche bastonata*) here in Italy, everything will go topsy-turvy (*ogni cosa anderà sotto sopra*). The King of France is truly of a royal mind, and so much our friend that he can no

1556.

longer be single handed, but have assistance even from the Almighty, who cannot bear tyrants. He worsted him as you know in Piedmont, Germany, and Flanders, thus showing others how they ought to do. That tyrant has no one in greater detestation than you and us; your freedom and this See Apostolic agitate him, and are the furies by whom he is driven wild. Should matters advance, we have determined to form an understanding with the most illustrious Signory, and almost to protest against losing this opportunity for freeing Italy, and as there is no one whom we love better than our nephew the Marquis [of Montebello] he will be the person to make known this our intention. Is it not evident that they have arrived at such a pitch of insolence as to arm even against us, and *parare undique insidias*, because we punished our vassals who deserved it? What would they say had we dared to threaten them even with words for punishing any of their own subjects? In a cause so unjust this tyrant our vassal dares raise his horns against his Prince. God will punish him, and although all our thoughts are of peace, as thou, my Lord, knowest them to be, thou who seest and hearest everything (and here he quoted a Greek verse in Homer to this effect), yet are we compelled sometimes to think of ourselves, of our country, by which we mean all Italy, and of the whole Christian world, as by God's goodness committed to us; and it often happens to us that when we are disposing our mind to peace, we hear a certain spirit which resists us, saying, *Leave direction to the Lord, who allows opportunities to present themselves that they may be availed of*. We have always told you our mind; we believe that you have written it; we will not fail to tell it you for the future, and to have it told to the Signory; and even had we been silent, and were we to continue so, the prudence of those most sage senators, and the opportunity afforded by the times, would be my spokesman. In that devilish soul of Charles in that filthy body (*in quello sporco corpo*), although its vigour is extinct, there yet remains that active malignity which of yore conceived universal tyranny, but he knows not what we have the power to do in the kingdom of Naples. An ancestor of mine, Antonio Caraffa, our father's grandfather, was the man who in the name of the last Queen,* who died without heirs, induced King Alfonso of Aragon to expel the house of Anjou, with which that Queen like a fickle woman was already satiated, and having determined to give the kingdom to this King Alfonso [A.D. 1433], accredited to him Antonio Caraffa, whom she recalled from Rome for that purpose. Having stated the cause of his embassy, the King in council replied that on several accounts he did not think it fit to assume that undertaking, whereupon Caraffa rejoined that having performed his ambassadorial office he would announce the answer received by him, but requested of his Majesty the favour to speak to him as a gentleman and his private servant, which being granted, he spoke to him in such form, being sage and eloquent, as to induce him to accept what he had refused, demonstrating the convenience, the fertility, and the beauty of that kingdom, and giving him to understand that the requests of a queen in affliction and dis-

* Queen Giovanna of Naples died on the 2nd February 1435, at the age of 64. (*See L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.*)

1556.

consolate ought to be acceded to, and that the opportunities for great exploits seldom occur, and when neglected they never return, conjuring him by the oath he had taken to God as king, to give freedom to the people and to succour those in affliction. King Alfonso undertook the expedition, and after encountering many perils and calamities accomplished it, and therefore who knows but that after so many years another member of that same Caraffa family may produce a similar result, now that by inheritance this unfortunate kingdom has fallen under the yoke of the most vile and abject nation (*più abietta e vil nazione*) in the world, the very worst of any. We will make ourselves heard; and to speak plainly to you, should the Republic choose, the goose shall be spitted (*sarà fatto il becco all' oca*); we know that the Signory wishes for peace, and you have said so to us, we on our part counselling and desiring it in like manner; but there are certain occasions when one must rouse one's self."

In the midst of this conversation he was informed that the Imperial ambassador had come for audience, and after replying that he must wait, his Holiness then turned to me and said, "He is come to plead for Garcilasso; we shall answer him in words becoming our station, that if we had the tyrant also in our hands we would do the like by him;" adding, "This ambassador [Marquis Sarria] is a very good person, although he acted so insolently,* he nevertheless bore with much patience the penance we assigned him, which was great, for we kept him aloof (*tenendolo contumace*), and we are told that he always performed good offices in favour of peace and of us. He perhaps is not aware of the evil offices done him by this Garcilasso, who sought to deprive him of credit and repute with his sovereigns."

The Pope then repeated much that he had said before about the Emperor's tyranny, the forces of France, and his intention to proceed steadily in acquainting your Serenity with his intentions.

Rome, 10th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

542. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with KING PHILIP, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Their Majesties' ambassador in France has sent hither a courier to inform them that his most Christian Majesty, having sent for him, desired he would write to them that it having come to his knowledge that troops were being raised in the kingdom of Naples, should he know them to be destined by their Majesties as succour for Colonna, to the detriment of the Church and of the Caraffa family, he would give such assistance for the defence of the Pope's interests as becoming the denomination made at the time of the truce, of his Holiness personally, and of the Caraffa family. Shortly after the arrival of this courier, the French ambassador resident here sent to Laura to demand audience of the King, circulating a report at Brussels of his intending to negotiate about the prisoners and the rest of the unimportant points about the boundaries. It has

* When he forced the gate of St. Agnese (see before, despatch dated 28th March 1556.)

1556.

not been possible as yet to learn anything about the reply made by their Majesties, it being merely said that the Emperor on receiving this intelligence displayed great anger ; and all that the ambassador has chosen to say is, that he was received with a joyful countenance, and that the King spoke him fair ; but the persons here about the court say publicly that the truce must be broken. Here there is no news of the Cardinal's having quitted Switzerland, but he tells the courtiers that he will still come to their Majesties, who, in consequence of the nuncio's assertion, have determined not to write anything to their ambassador with the Pope, in exchange for the words uttered to him by his Holiness, until they hear what Signor Ferrante de' Sanguini has effected. The harbingers went to Ghent to prepare the lodgings for their Majesties here (*queste Maestà*),* for the King and Queen of Bohemia, and for all the courts ; but King Philip desired the harbingers to report to the Emperor that there are more cases of plague at Ghent than in Brussels ; so their Majesties have determined to return hither next week knowing they cannot accommodate everybody better than here, especially as the persons belonging to the courts are so much in debt to private individuals that in case of departure it would be requisite to pay them, and that the attendants should receive from their Majesties the arrears for which they are creditors.

The King and Queen of Bohemia having arrived at Juliers (distant three days journey hence), a place belonging to their brother-in-law the Duke of Cleves, the Emperor and King Philip sent first the Marquis de Aguilar and then the Duke de Medina Celi to meet their Majesties, for which purpose the Duke of Savoy likewise, being governor of these provinces, will go as far as their boundaries. King Philip, with the whole court, will go to Louvain, four leagues hence. The King and Queen of Bohemia will remain two days at Juliers to act as sponsors for the Duke's new-born son, the Emperor and the King of Spain having wished the Duke to send him hither for the christening, that all, at one and the same time, might do honour to this ceremony in person ; but this not suiting his Excellency, M. de Lalain goes to perform this office in the name of King Philip, who has despatched Don Francisco de Mendoza (nephew of Don Bernardino) to England to the Queen his consort, to give her notice of the approach of the King and Queen of Bohemia, assuring her that when rid of their Majesties (*che quando sarà dalle Maestà loro spedita*), he will go and see her, as he greatly desires. A captain has again come from Middelburg with an earnest demand for money, on account of the arrears of pay due to the fifteen hundred Spaniards there, making known that unless a good quantity of money be sent them speedily they will mutiny ; so he immediately received half-pay (*mezza paga*), and cloth with which to clothe themselves, on account of their credits.

Brussels, 10th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* Namely, the Emperor, King Philip, and the Queens Eleanor and Maria.

1556.

July 11.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

543. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome,
to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day when a general congregation of all the cardinals and ambassadors was held, Cardinal Morone said that not only did he believe, but knew for certain, that the Emperor and the King of England as Christian Princes did not bear the Pope ill-will, as demonstrated by so many of their actions, and lately by King Philip, whose marriage with the Queen of England was made solely for the purpose of bringing back that kingdom to its devotion and obedience to the See Apostolic.

The ambassadors being then called, the Pope said he would speak in the vulgar tongue (*in lingua volgare*) to render himself intelligible to all, telling them briefly that the Divine Providence had caused letters of great importance to fall into his hands, whereby he had obtained proof of the guilt of the persons arrested, expatiating much in praise of the Imperial ambassador, the Marquis of Sarria, as his Holiness knew for certain that they had not confided their projects to him, and that in short the Emperor and King Philip would have cause to consider themselves better served by the Marquis, who had always used his good offices for peace, than by those petty traitors (*traditorelli*). The Pope then said that his brothers the right reverend Cardinals, besides offering to serve him readily, being anxious for peace, and knowing how he had always sought and desired it, as clearly seen at present by his mission of the two Legates, declared that the prisoners might have acted without any order from their Princes, and gave him to understand that it would be well to avoid hostilities; so he assented to their suggestion that they should speak with the ambassador, and afford him the consolation of attending in peace to the peculiar office of a Pontiff; but that in the meanwhile he would arm, and should not choose to be found unprepared, saying that he had chosen to convoke all the ambassadors that they may not write "*vanos rumores*" of war, which he by nature abhors, but tell their Princes the truth, viz., that he was arming in self-defence and to resist the treasonable projects discovered by him; and with this he dismissed the Congregation.

Rome, 11th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 11.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

544. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, at noon, Capilupi, the agent of the Cardinal of Mantua, was imprisoned in the castle, which arrest is held in great account by reason of the individual, who was beyond measure beloved at this court, as he in truth deserved, and because it is feared that these arrests may proceed so far and in such number as perchance to compel the Imperialists to come to a decision without further scruple.

Rome, 11th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.
July 12.
Original
D. spatch,
Venetian
Archives.

545. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Secretary Dardoes (*sic*) returned lately from Brussels about the ransom of the prisoners, and brought back word that M. de Benincourt [Ponce de Lalain, Seigneur de Bugnicourt] had determined, as the Constable rejected the offer to reduce his son's ransom from 80,000 crowns to 60,000, he (Benincourt) would no longer abide by the modification, and that knowing the Constable to be able to pay that sum, he insisted on receiving the 80,000 in full. Dardoes (*sic*) also says that at the Impèrial court he perceived that the more they were convinced of Montmorency's wish to get back his son, the more they daily raised difficulties about the ransom, on hearing which the Constable was 'greatly enraged. *The Abbot of San Saluto has been to the Constable to continue negotiating the peace. His Excellency seemed to hold it in small account, saying the King would no longer talk about it, which he repeated several times. Parpaglia nevertheless, perceiving that he had the matter much at heart, did not cease continuing the office commenced by him; and he told his Excellency that should these recent movements at Paliano not cause the King of England to change his mind, he supposed that his most Christian Majesty was still of the opinion expressed by him to his Excellency about giving the Milanese, on the terms written by me to your Serenity; but perceiving the Pope's determination to fortify Paliano, his Holiness saying clearly that he did so in order that the King of France might have one foot on the kingdom of Naples, he, the Abbot, did not believe that the King of England would tolerate this, as were he at the commencement of his reigns (delli sui regni) to give scent to the world of his being so cowardly, he would put all his States into confusion, and in great part alienate the affection of his subjects; but that if the Pope could be induced to desist from fortifying the place, or at least to consign it to a person in the confidence of both parties, until the claims of Marc' Antonio Colonna had been heard, and sentence passed according to law about his State, he, Parpaglia, considered it certain that King Philip would lay aside all ill-will, and again confirm his first desire; but that if his most Christian Majesty continued to proceed advancing (as was understood to be the case), sending troops and other supplies for the Pope's service, his inference was that matters could but get from bad to worse.*

The Constable replied, with many marks of mental perturbation, that the King of France could by no means fail defending those whom he had declared his friends in the treaty of truce; that if the King of England desisted from hostilities, his most Christian Majesty would do the like, but if he chose to prevent the fortification of Paliano, France could not fail to assist the Pope; and he then expatiated on the injustice of wishing to prevent the Pope from fortifying his own home (casa sua), and doing what he pleased there. To this the Abbot replied that what his Excellency said seemed true, but was contradicted by circumstances, because the sending Legates to treat the peace and the Council, and simultaneously to erect a fortress with the intention of attacking the

1556.

kingdom of Naples, appeared to be facts at variance with each other. After many other remarks the Constable said, "*The most Christian King very well knows that the Imperialists are preparing for war in every direction, but they may rest assured that they will find us in like manner more ready for them than they think ;*" so the Abbot added, "*Monseigneur, as I see matters taking this course my stay here is superfluous, so with your good grace I shall return to Italy ;*" and thus, after the usual complimentary phrases, the Constable embraced and dismissed him.

Next day Parpaglia went to take leave of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and by the words of his right reverend Lordship he found him to be utterly opposed to the opinions of Montmorency, for he said to him *that it would be well not to allow these matters to proceed, but to find some mode of adjustment, in favour of which he would not fail to exhort his most Christian Majesty ; and when the Abbot told him they must desist from fortifying Paliano, the Cardinal said, "They are matters for mature consideration, and therefore I do not choose you to depart, but we will have another meeting."*

Thus the Abbot promised to do, and moreover said to him, "Monseigneur, great part of this sin rests on your shoulders, for it was not the office of a cardinal to go to Rome and form a league with the Pope and the Duke of Ferrara, for the purpose of making one of the sons of the most Christian King, King of Naples, this being the cause of all these disturbances ;" to which the Cardinal replied, "It is true that I went to Rome and stipulated the league, but I did so at a time when the Emperor was the most Christian King's enemy, my duty then leading me to do whatever was for the service of my King ; but now that matters are in another state, I shall exert myself to the utmost for the quiet of Christendom."

The Spanish ships at Marseilles which had been released at the suit of the Imperial ambassador have now again been detained.

Morette, 12th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 13.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

546. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at 4 p.m. the Pope sent for me ; he said, "Loving the most illustrious Signory, as known to God, and also holding you in such account as we do, we choose to tell you some of our designs and conceits. We are not in a place whither we can call the Doge, or the Chiefs of the Ten, or the Senate, or the Grand Council, to lay before them our inmost thoughts. You here represent them all ; to you we will tell what we design, and choose to tell it long before it may take place, that those lords, your masters, may see that from us you have always known what is passing, and all our thoughts much beforehand. We see the treacherous devices of those Imperialists (*di costoro*) ; we also consider their small forces, that being Lutherans and half Jews (*e mezi giudei*), they are odious in the face of heaven, and detested by mankind, as tyrants and insufferable. We have it almost within our reach to free the kingdom of Naples ; the

1556.

opportunity must not be neglected, to speak to you more clearly than we ever have done. The King of France is so obedient a son to us, and so anxious to do us pleasure, that he lately commissioned Cardinal Tournon and his ambassador here to assist us, not with a limited supply of money and troops, but with as much as we please, and as shall be needed, and in truth without his aid we should also have fared badly before now. Should the opportunity present itself we also believe that the most illustrious Signory will not fail (*non mancherà*), we say will not fail (*dicemo che non mancherà*), on perceiving matters so well arranged that they can take part in them gladly; and as it might be asked what benefit Venice is to derive from this undertaking, we, to speak freely with you, purpose making you masters of Sicily, which, if obtained, would be of more importance than the whole of the territory between your city and Constantinople. Sicily, as you know, besides so many other resources, was the granary of the Roman people, and if compelled to wage war, as we suspect, owing to the deceitful nature (*per la natura et inganni*) of these Imperialists, we, without the slightest scruple, by a legitimate process, and by a sentence so tremendous that it will darken the sun (*e con una sentenza così tremenda che annuvolerà il sole*), shall deprive the Emperor and the King of England, as our vassals who have perpetrated felony and rebellion, of all their realms, releasing the inhabitants from their oath of allegiance, giving part of their territories to those who shall occupy them, investing the King of France with part, and reserving part for my most illustrious Signory, namely, the coasts and ports held of yore by the Republic in Puglia, thus giving the Signory the means for making use of all the advantages (*bellezze*) and fertility of the kingdom of Naples, and we know that we can render no greater service to God, nor any greater satisfaction to the people there, who still remember your rule,* and in the centre of their hearts is engraved the image of St. Mark. Nothing could gratify us more than this, for we have always desired your greatness; and were I told that through this addition of a considerable part of the kingdom of Naples, the King of France would become very powerful and formidable, we should say that by us and by you the greatness of the King of France is less to be feared than that of the Emperor, by reason of his claims on our respective territories (*li nostri comuni stati*); but we tell you besides that, by giving this part of the kingdom to one of his sons, the King of France will in a very short time create an Italian king, as heretofore; and as must be your intention and ours, should you choose to take part in this (*se voi vorrete mettervi la mano*), the thing will doubtless succeed. By reason of the singular affection evinced towards us by the King of France, and which he continues to show us, we make sure of being able to persuade him to do what we have told you, namely, to get back all that was heretofore yours on the coast of Puglia, and the kingdom of Sicily besides; and we also believe it impossible for us to confer a greater benefit than this on

* The occupation by the Venetians of part of the Neapolitan territory, from the year 1495 until 1509, is narrated by the historian Pietro Bembo.

1556.

the See Apostolic, because you having those harbours and coasts, and so much additional territory, will be by so much the more powerful and have greater means for defending the Popes, by preserving whom you will also preserve your own liberty, whereas at present if dependent on your assistance we should have to go half round the world (*ch' adesso se vossamo aspettare aiuti da voi, bisognerebbe circondare mezo il mondo*).

"Had it pleased the goodness of God to give us sufficient forces to enable us to act of ourselves, and gain the kingdom of Naples for St. Peter, we should not have need of anyone; our courage (*animo*) is greater than our forces, and we therefore had recourse to the King of France; and we have chosen to tell you as aforesaid, nor do we know for what purpose, save that we felt a worm within gnawing us (*che ne rodea*) not to speak freely and before the time, because, as we told you before, thus does one do by friends and those we love. Write this in such form as familiar to you, we not doubting that the whole will be kept very secret."

I replied, that, as done by me always, I would write, not only the conceits, but so far as my memory served me the very words of his Holiness, and I thought fit to add that on the day before yesterday the whole Sacred College and the ambassadors departed joyfully, seeing him so entirely disposed towards peace and quiet, hoping that through the Cardinals appointed by him some good result might be obtained in accordance with his pious intention, and having so long resided in Venice no one could be a better witness than himself of how remote your Serenity was from ambition of additional territory. "Yes," said the Pope, "but in matters of great importance one must rouse oneself (*bisogna svegliarsi*), and we, when a Cardinal, never sought anything else but to excite the Popes to make you great, and now that we can do it of ourselves we are encouraged so to do;" and with this he dismissed me. I rather hesitated to transmit these particulars by an express, but his Holiness having sent for me this day and spoken as he did, and being certain that he very well knows that from to-day until Saturday, the ordinary post day, it is a long while, and deeming it well for Princes to be forthwith informed of certain important requests about to be made them, I determined to despatch the present courier, Zuan Ponchino, to whom I have given 18 gold crowns, and your Serenity will be pleased to give him 10 more if he arrives at Venice by 9 a.m. on Thursday.

Rome, 13th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 14.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

547. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at the 11th hour (11 a.m.) there assembled in the house of the Deacon* the right reverend De Bellai, five other cardinals, vidt., Carpi, Morone, Saraceno, Savello, and Santafiore, they having been appointed by the Pope to discuss the peace. The Duke of Paliano was likewise present and all the ambassadors, except the

* "Decano," the Senior Cardinal of the Sacred College.

1556.

one from France, who is still infirm and suffering from gout, and the Ferrarese, who is ill of flux. I was summoned by a public cursitor to go to the said palace at the same hour, and when all were assembled, the right reverend Deacon commenced by saying that the College being aware of the fatal consequences of the war evidently in preparation between the Pope on one side and the Emperor and his son on the other, and which if once commenced would involve not only the princes of Italy, but all the Christian powers besides, and perhaps Sultan Soliman, who would not allow this opportunity to escape him; the Deacon, therefore, at the last general Congregation, besought the Pope in favour of peace and quiet, and his Holiness, adhering to his Christian and pious intention, not only assented to this request on the part of the College, but exhorted them to find means for stilling and pacifying everything, and that this was the cause for which the present assembly was held, that its members might give such advice as seemed fit to them for the common weal. Then turning towards the ambassadors of the Emperor and of the King of England, their sovereigns being the first and most interested, he prayed them to be good instruments for so holy a purpose; and to all the others he said that peace being what everybody must wish for, they also were not to fail proposing and counselling deliberately whatever might seem fit to each of them for the extinction of so important a conflagration as this would prove.

When he finished speaking thus, Cardinal Carpi* commenced saying that he left his house with much greater hope of obtaining his wish, which is for peace, than he has at present, having just met the Duke of Paliano, who told them all that the matter had advanced so far as to warrant its being considered the commencement of war; but nevertheless as this disagreement and these suspicions or offences had arisen between the Pope and the Emperor and his son, and as unfortunately the person who ought always to be the common father of all men, has become one of the parties, considering his good intention, he, Carpi, chooses to hope the best, and trusts greatly to the other side, the Emperor and the King of England, having shown many marks of their goodwill and desire for peace; nor did he see any better means for arriving at this good result than to request the Duke of Alva, who has such great authority in Italy, and from whom alone some catastrophe might be feared, in the name of the Sacred College of Cardinals, to suspend hostilities in case he meditated an attack, so that during this interval not only from hence at Rome, but from all the other princes and potentates of Italy, earnest application might be made to the Emperor and his son in favour of quiet.

This opinion was commended by all the other Cardinals, who spoke in rotation according to their grades; Cardinal Morone affirming that the Emperor and the King of England would never fail consenting to so pious an act. The Duke of Paliano, being then

* Ridolfo Pio, whose family had held the principality of Carpi; he died in 1564, in his 65th year, leaving a fine library and collections of statues and pictures, and was one of the most virtuous men of his day. (See Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 173-177.)

1556.

requested to speak, replied that he had been sent to listen and report to the Pope, and not to speak; and when the Imperial ambassador was about to open his lips, the Cardinal Deacon (De Bellai) said, "Allow me to utter a few words of great importance," and then added, "I went to-day to the Cardinal de Tournon, the King's superintendent of affairs (*sopraintendente delle cose del Re*), that as the ambassador could not come he might be present here, but being unable to do so, he told me that in this Congregation, should I think it necessary, I was to say that the King cannot ever fail the Pope (should anyone choose to attack him), succouring him both with the fleet and with infantry (*e con l'armata e con fanti*), and with all his forces in Italy, and in short with whatever may be in his power, and that orders had been already given in case of need." After these words the Imperial ambassador [the Marquis of Sarria] spoke, saying that the Emperor and the King his lords believing that in consequence of the recent events he was now out of Rome and at Monte Pulciano, according to the intention written by him, he has received no advices for many days, nor any order about negotiations from his court, nor had anything been communicated to him by the Duke of Alva, and that therefore he knew not what else to say save to promise that whatever may proceed from him will tend towards this aim at peace, which has been sought by him invariably hitherto; and in reply also to what the Deacon had said, in conclusion, he affirmed to everybody that the Emperor and the King were Princes of such a sort that never would they be moved to do anything by fear either of galleys, infantry, or money; though on the other hand their goodwill and desire to keep their subjects well satisfied by means of peace, and not to harass anyone, were indeed motives which they acknowledged; and that he chose to believe that the most Christian King, as a virtuous Prince, would neither break the truce nor his word.

The following words of the Florentine ambassador caused comment: "On my departure the Duke my lord charged me always to assure his Holiness that it was not only his wish but also his firm determination (*risoluta opinione*) to be the obedient son of this Holy See; he always writes to me thus, and I availing myself of the opportunity make the declaration in this right honourable Congregation, although there is no lack of malignants who disseminate the contrary." It seemed to some persons that he spoke too freely in the presence of the ambassador of the Emperor and of the King of England, and the Cardinals alone then drew aside for awhile, and on their return Cardinal De Bellai, standing, again urged the ambassadors of the Emperor and the King of England to do their best for this peace, even at the risk of somewhat exceeding their commission, as in the long run (*a lungo andare*) they would perform an act worthy of praise and agreeable to their sovereigns, he himself occasionally when negotiating having done the like successfully, and to the satisfaction of his King.

The Marquis of Sarria replied, that in a matter of such great importance he could not venture to go beyond his orders; that by letter he would perform every good office, as he always had done; and that he was of opinion it might be rendered effectual by removing

1556.

Garcilasso from the castle and consigning him (on receiving security) to him the Marquis, at his residence,* and also that Zuan Antonio de Tassis should either be set at liberty, or put at least in less close confinement, thus warranting some hope that matters might at length proceed towards the end desired by everybody; whereas, to say the truth, the rejection of these two demands would be interpreted in a very sinister form, both at the court of his Princes and by the Duke of Alva. All the Cardinals then prayed the Duke of Paliano to gratify the Marquis and the English ambassador, as this would be a great commencement, and whereby to soothe and quiet everything. The Duke replied that he dared not make such a proposal to the Pope, and that neither the Marquis nor Sir Edward Carne would tell their Princes to release state prisoners, even were they persons of greater importance than Garcilasso and Tassis, but that the Marquis should go and make his request to the Pope, who would perhaps grant it, or assign a reason for not doing so; the Duke declaring that his knowledge of the Pope's magnanimity and clemency enabled him to assert that were it possible to effect an adjustment, neither Garcilasso nor anyone else would receive injury. At length it was settled that the Pope's nephew should narrate the whole to his Holiness, and in the act of departure the Cardinal Deacon De Bellai said to me, "Believe me, lord ambassador, that I never speak anything but the truth. The King will have (*Il Re haverà questo* (sic) *gagliarde forze*) such powerful forces in Italy as to enable him not only to defend but to attack anyone.

Rome, 14th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

548. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Of the three individuals sentenced to death, only two were executed, but being of noble birth (*ma essendo nobili*), it was granted them as an especial favour not to be put to death at Tyburn (*al luogo publico*), but on Tower Hill, the place of execution for chief lords and gentlemen.

By their dying speech delivered to the populace as usual, they seemed to make so Christian and Catholic an end (*di morir così Christiana et Catholicamente*), that neither greater faith, nor more true and certain knowledge of God, could have been desired in anyone, so that not only were the people greatly affected, but also many noblemen and persons of quality who had flocked thither; no one having been able from compassion to restrain their tears, whilst all, both good and bad, admitted that the execution was just and holy.

The capital punishment of Lord La Warre and of the other three

* The imprisonment of Don Garcilasso de la Vega is mentioned by the English ambassador Sir Edward Carne in the Foreign Calendar, date 3rd August 1556. Amongst the other Imperialists then in prison at Rome were Giulio Cesarini, Camillo Colonna, the Archbishop of Taranto, Hippolito Capilupio, and the postmaster, Giovanni Antonio de Tassis.

1556.

convicted criminals is supposed to be put off from day to day for the sake of giving them more time to repent and reconcile themselves to God, and for the salvation of their souls, to which above all the Queen wishes the greatest attention to be paid, rather than because either they or others may hope for pardon, as the persons aforesaid neither by their own deserts, nor through the intercession of persons in great favour with the Queen, and very dear to her, have been able to obtain it. According to report, although it seems improbable, Carew will adjust his affairs by payment of a fine, some persons telling me that he has already done so, by agreeing to disburse 2,000*l.* sterling. Cheke has again demanded a conference with the theologians, after having lately dismissed them, persisting obstinately in his heretical opinions, which, unless he retract them, will cause him likewise to be burned in public.

Francesco Piamontese has returned from Brussels, but without any letters from the King; his Majesty having subsequently despatched Don Francisco de Mendoza, esquire carver (*gentilhommo della bocca*), who arrived four days ago. As yet his mission is not known to have been for any other purpose than that of visiting the Queen, and of making known to her his Majesty's great wish to return; apologizing for the delay on account of the very momentous impediments which daily cross him, assuring the Queen, however, although he will no longer bind himself to any stated time or day, but that it will be soon; he having already ordered the stable department (*la stalla*) and a great part of his household to move and proceed in advance. Subsequently the said Don Francisco had private audience of the Queen, *which has yet more increased the previous opinion about a secret treaty and negotiation* (*la opinione di pratica et maneggio occulto*); *nor hitherto can it, through any channel, be ascertained, neither can I as yet learn, whether the despatch for Rome, on which Cardinal Pole was lately so intent, has been brought back by Francesco Piamontese, or sent forward on its way.*

Lord Maltravers, a youth two-and-twenty years old, one of the most noble and virtuous in this kingdom, son of the Earl of Arundel,* has been appointed by the Queen to visit the King and Queen of Bohemia, in her name.

The Venetian merchants established here came to me to-day, to obtain from the Lords of the Council the license to continue sending their woollens across the sea to Flanders, for conveyance thence by the carriers, as usual, to Venice; a general order and prohibition having been issued lately against the exportation and shipment of similar goods, especially for Flanders, by any person; this being done, they say, at the suit of the English merchants adventurers, as they alone of their countrymen trade in Flanders by special privilege. As I do not think it for the Republic's interest to fail supporting the merchants, I shall endeavour to have them relieved from this grievance, although some have made the attempt privately, and not only they and all the other Italian nations received a flat refusal, but likewise the Easterlings (*Osterlini*, Han-

* Henry Fitzalan, 15th Earl of Arundel. (See Burke's Extinct Peerages.)

1556.

sards) here, who have a privilege exempting them from any impediment at all times, which will render the matter more difficult, though no pains shall be spared.

Your Serenity's creation* has rejoiced the most illustrious Legate Pole, the most of any of these royal counsellors, both by reason of his affection for the Republic, and on account of his especial regard for your family, by reason of the eminent worth and goodness of the right reverend Monsignor Priuli, whom he has so singularly and heartily loved and esteemed.

London, 14th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 15.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

549. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In a long conversation held by me with the Duke of Paliano, he said that the Imperialists who had been arrested gave very good advice to the Duke of Alva, recommending him to come speedily by way of the Campagna, with 10,000 Italian infantry and 1,000 horse; to send 4,000 by way of the Abruzzi to seize Tivoli, and to embark 2,500 Spaniards on board 45 galleys for the capture of Nettuno. He then added, "They will no longer take Tivoli, as we have garrisoned it; and still less can they now rob us of Civitavecchia, though they might have done so at the commencement. My brother the Cardinal will come with troops and other assistance, nor can we then remain always on the defensive. Should the Duke of Alva delay the attack until farther orders from his Princes (as said in Congregation), an arrangement might be effected by discussing the matter, unless they are quite demented, though the arrest of Don Garcilasso, his relation and friend, might render him precipitate (*lo potrebbe fare precipitare*)."

With all this talk of peace, the other day at dinner, when conversing with Cardinal Saraceni,† the Pope kindled spontaneously (*s'accese di sua posta*), and turning towards the Roman cavaliers (*i cavalieri Romani*) said aloud, "These sorry iniquitous Moriscos (*Marani*) were plotting to give Rome another sack, as if this city were one of their forests, in which to come and fell timber periodically, after a lapse of so many years. What they did heretofore does not suffice them, and but for Lautrec they would still be here. They purposed marching so many infantry one way, and so many the other, not knowing that we are provided, that we have no lack either of troops, money, or friends. Give sack to this city? We will give it to Naples our country, and will go there in person, with a crucifix before us. We intend to have that fiendish letter (*quell' indiarolata lettera*) printed, that everybody may know their treacherous proceedings. They have confessed everything, and their lives are at our mercy, but we choose to know more; and do you, Duke" (addressing me [Duke of Paliano]), "leave those rogues with

* Doge Francesco Venier died on the 2nd of June 1556, and was succeeded by Lorenzo Priuli, whose election took place on the 14th June 1556.

† Giannichele Saraceni, a Neapolitan, made cardinal by Julius III. on the 20th December 1551. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 309.)

1556.

their arms on the cord [of the strappado] until they name their accomplices, for we choose to know them, and let everyone beware of mischance (*et ognuno si guardi dalla mala ventura*)."

Rome, 15th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 17.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

550. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, after my audience of the Pope, the Duke of Paliano told me that the day before yesterday he received a letter from the Duke of Alva, brought by his captain, Don Geronimo de Urea, saying that couriers, and lately the postmaster, having been arrested, letters also being opened, he sends to complain of this, and to know what has become of the letters. The letter was addressed "Al muy Ill. Senor el Senor Conde de Montorio," and signed "Alli piaceri di V. S. el Duque de Alva." By the Pope's order the Duke of Paliano replied that, since his governorship, neither had couriers been arrested nor letters opened; and that if the affair of Terracina was alluded to, he had nothing farther to say, as he knew him to be well acquainted with it, and that by this time he would have heard the whole; he signing himself, "Alli piaceri di V. S. il Duca di Paliano," and the address being "Al molto Illre. Sigre. il Sigr. Duca di Alva." The Duke of Paliano also told me that at the first examination Don Garcilasso seemed to jest, but perceiving subsequently that they were carefully confined, "he saw that he was in some danger. He confessed to what I have already told you, and the other day he endeavoured to send out a letter in order, if possible, to make his escape, nor would I tell the Pope this, to avoid exasperating his Holiness yet more, and lest he desire me to put him in a worse and more confined place, it sufficing me to have provided against the possibility of his flight. The postmaster, Gio. Ant^o Tassis, is the only one who has been racked;* Capilupi confessed to having heard the same things, but merely by way of conversation."

I thanked his Excellency for this confidential announcement, and he then spoke about the quarantine to which it would be necessary to subject couriers coming from Venice, on account of the plague there.

Rome, 17th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 18.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

551. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal Tournon quitted Rome this morning. Yesterday he told me that perhaps elsewhere he will be a better instrument for aiding universal quiet, and that he purposes writing freely to the King how matters are proceeding, and performing good offices for the peace.

* In a letter dated Rome, 3rd August 1556, and addressed by Sir Edward Carne to Queen Mary, it is seen that although not put to the strappado, "Garcilasso being fed with salt meat was kept without drink for three days to make him confess the names." (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, No. 522, p. 242.)

1556.

He says that those who tell the Pope that there is no stir of importance at Naples are answered by him that these are deceits, and that they do so to find him unprepared; and he bursts forth, using strange language against the Emperor and the King of England; but that he (Cardinal Tournon) has told the Imperialists that they will have to listen to similar words daily, and must bear with them, having regard for the Pope's age, and for the dignity with which he is invested; and that as to fortifying Paliano, the Emperor ought to be glad of it, because it will thus be a stronghold against the See Apostolic, and that were he in the Pope's place by no means would he have such a fortress, as the Church can have no greater enemies than fortified places near at hand. He told me that he had let the Duke of Paliano know that the truce maintains him, whereas war deprives him of his duchy. The departure of so sage and good a personage, and chief minister of his most Christian Majesty, causes much comment and talk at this court. The majority of the cardinals and of the court regret his departure, it seeming to them thus to lose the best peace minister in this city.

M. de Rambouillet, chamberlain of his most Christian Majesty, has arrived, announcing the constant determination of the King to assist the Pope, and he says Cardinal Caraffa will leave the court on the 8th or 10th instant; and letters from Genoa state that at Marseilles troops were being embarked for Paliano, and that on account of the plague the Genoese government had put Venice, Padua, and Marseilles under quarantine.

The letter of the Duke of Alva to the Duke of Paliano, and the mission of Don Juan de Urea, so enraged the Pope that on the day before yesterday at table, and afterwards to Cardinal S. Jacomo, in Congregation of the Inquisition, he repeated almost the same words against the Emperor, his son, and the Duke of Alva, as he is accustomed to utter, and which have been so often written.

Don Diego la Chaux (*Lasso*), agent of the King of the Romans, has had leave to quit Rome to go to some baths. He made the demand of the Pope at table, and encouraged by his Holiness' kind words he chose to commence speaking to him about Don Garcilasso, but the Pope told him to hold his tongue and go away, and as he delayed doing so his Holiness rose from the table, saying, "If thou wilt not begone, I myself will depart" (*se non vai andartene tù, anderò io*), and he withdrew into the chamber. I understand that this Don Diego has already received 4,000 crowns revenue in Spain from his Holiness, but saddled with a pension of 2,000 to Don Alfonso Caraffa. Don Garcilasso also obtained a "reversion" in Spain of some 2,000 crowns, free from any pension, on which account they yet more resent his conduct.

A report circulates here, and many persons believe it, that the Imperialists have gained (*guadagnato*) Cardinal Farnese and Duke Ottavio by restoring Piacenza, but keeping the castle for themselves, about which, I having asked Cardinal St. Angelo,* and other dependants of the family, they evince great surprise; and yesterday in

* Ranuccio Farnese, younger brother of Alessandro, Cardinal, Prime Minister of Paul III.

1556.

consistory, in reply to the Pope's enquiries, the Cardinal replied that he knew nothing whatever about this, and did not believe it. His Holiness said, "Enough! whether done or about to be done, we shall take it amiss, and will punish all the parties (*e la puniremo sopra ognuno*).” To this Cardinal St. Angelo rejoined that he could not command either Cardinal Farnese or Duke Ottavio; and that whatever might happen he ought not to suffer for it; and last evening he wrote a long account of this discourse to Cardinal Farnese at Parma, exhorting him to quit that city, as his stay there is the cause of these reports.

The printed bull, depriving Ascanio and Marc' Antonio Colonna of their estates, has been published, and it is said that the "*auditor della camera*" has commanded the generals of the religious orders to have it placed on the gates of their churches in Naples.

Camillo Orsini has arrived on a call from the Pope, who has assigned him the apartment in the palace formerly occupied by Cardinal Pisani. It is not known whether he will remain to serve his Holiness. These Romans seem to place great trust in him.*

Rome, 18th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

552. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with KING PHILIP, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday the King and Queen of Bohemia were met by the King of Spain, at a village half a league beyond Louvain, where his Majesty waited for them, which being heard by the King of Bohemia, who was travelling in a coach with his consort, having had two fits of his usual malady,† he got on horseback immediately and came on in advance towards King Philip, on approaching whom he dismounted, and they embraced each other, and then proceeded together to meet the Queen, whose brother having fraternally and affectionately saluted her, the brothers-in-law remounted their horses, and on the road towards Louvain the King of Spain wished to place the King of Bohemia, who would not consent to it, on the right hand. Having thus entered Louvain they passed the night there; and early next morning set out for this town, placing the Queen between them, she also coming on horseback; and they arrived here at noon with two thousand horse, part having come with the King of Bohemia, the rest having gone forth with the King of Spain. The townspeople sent a doctor (of laws) to the gate, who, in the name of the community, congratulated King Maximilian on this coming, receiving his Highness with a great number of lighted

* This popularity did not last long, and the destruction of the Farnese gardens and other vineyards, as also of buildings in Rome at this period by Camillo Orsini, caused the Romans later in the year to regret the humanity of Caesar Borgia in not strangling Camillo in 1502 (he being then ten years old), when his father Paolo was put to death in Castel de la Pieve, as recorded by Machiavelli. Camillo Orsini was the intimate friend of Cardinal Pole, one of whose letters to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese contains a long lament for the loss of his trees. It is, however, without any date of time or place, and solely through the aid of Navagero's despatches have I been able to fix them.

† Query epilepsy. The ambassador, Paolo Tiepolo, in his "report" of the King of the Romans, A.D. 1537, said of the King of Bohemia, "Egli patisce di una sineope o maneamento di virtù, che alle volte gli viene." (See Alberi, series 1, vol. 3, p. 151.)

1556.

torches, according to the custom of these provinces; and the Emperor having sent to tell the King and Queen of Bohemia that as the hour was late they were to dine first, and that he would see them afterwards, they dismounted at the palace, where apartments had been prepared for them, and the Queens Eleanor and Maria, with the Duchesses of Lorraine and Arschot, and other chief personages who were waiting, went down to the foot of the stair to receive their Majesties, and placed between them the Queen of Bohemia, with whom and with the King their nephew they performed such offices as became their close relationship. After dinner the King of Bohemia went to fetch the King of Spain, and the two together took the Queen, with whom they went to the Emperor, and his Imperial Majesty having come down into a chamber on the ground floor, he first embraced his son-in-law and then his daughter, having doffed his bonnet and keeping it always in his hand during their conversation, of which not one word was audible; and then all the chief personages who had come with King Maximilian having kissed the Emperor's hand, his Imperial Majesty called King Philip to him, and having said a few words to everybody, dismissed them. Yesterday afternoon the King and Queen went to the Emperor to talk together, none of the ministers being present; the interview was brief, but after leaving the Emperor, the King of Spain remained a long while with the Queen his sister.

As yet they are not known to have commenced any negotiation, and the provost of Trent, who is the confidential servant (*intimo servitore*) of the King of the Romans, and has familiar access at all hours to the chamber of the King of Bohemia, came to tell me, in strong language, that the report circulated by these Spaniards of his Highness having come hither spontaneously, was false, and that he had been induced to make this journey because the Emperor, both by letter and by words, which by his orders were repeated to him, had let his Highness know that he gave manifest proof to him, the Emperor, and to the world, of bearing his kindred (*il suo sangue*) ill-will. With regard to private disputes he said it would be easy to adjust them in the few days during which his Highness purposed remaining here; but respecting the exchange of these States of Flanders for the Tyrol, Carinthia, and Stiria, and touching the dignity of the Empire, he vowed that no proposal would be made on the part of the King of the Romans and of the King of Bohemia, though he thought it possible, owing to the strange humours of Germany, and the union and projects of the Pope and the King of France, that the Emperor and his son might condescend to propose and settle things of that sort, and something besides, such as no one had an idea of, but he would not specify what it was. The Spaniards assert positively that the Emperor and King Philip will make this exchange of territory, and that the Emperor has written to the King of Bohemia that it would be well for both their Majesties to resign the Imperial dignities to the kings their sons, thus doing honour to both one and the other, and retaining them in their family, notwithstanding opponents whose especial object it is to deprive the house of Hapsburg of those prerogatives; and that

1556.

the King of Spain will consent to the King of Bohemia being Emperor, provided he elect him King of the Romans.*

The French ambassador has taken an opportunity to say that should the King of Spain purpose making a marriage between the Archduke Ferdinand and the sister of the Queen of England, his most Christian Majesty will give the daughter of the Queen of Scotland,† betrothed to the Dauphin, to Lord Courtenay, *to prevent the House of Austria from establishing itself in that kingdom.*

The Imperial ambassador in France writes that all visible signs show it to be the intention of the King and the principal ministers, with the exception of the Constable, to break the truce, and on these borders we hear daily of fresh reinforcements being sent thither, Marienburg having been lately provided with a variety of stores; so war is expected shortly, and their Majesties here have given orders for six thousand pioneers to go to Hesdin-fort to complete the unfinished works there. I have heard from a person of quality that yesterday Don Ruy Gomez held a very long conference with the French ambassador, exhorting him most lovingly and earnestly to mediate in favour of peace rather than of war, as indicated by his mode of proceeding, offering to induce the King to appoint commissioners well disposed towards the peace, and that if his most Christian Majesty would do the like, its conclusion might be hoped for; but he comprehended that his expressions, instead of being reciprocated heartily, were answered by ceremonious phrases. A gentleman in the service of the Cardinal of Pisa has arrived here with letters to the Nuncio, for the purpose of finding a lodging for his right reverend Lordship, but although, through the ministers, the Nuncio announced the news to their Majesties, this coming has not greatly rejoiced the court, owing to the determination made in France to send the Gascons in Tuscany to serve the Pope, although under pretence of their garrisoning Mont' Alcinò and other places; and also because the Cardinal's letter is dated from Switzerland.

The Grand Conservator of the Order of Rhodes, who resided here with their Majesties, has died, as also the governor of the Prince of Spain (Don Carlos), to fill which post the members of the Council had purposed sending Don Bernardino de Mendoza, but subsequently determined to appoint one Garcia de Toledo, who has the care of the Princess. The plague has ceased entirely, but the scarcity of all the necessaries of life, owing to the very great number of persons who have accompanied the King and Queen of Bohemia, and those from every part of these provinces who have come to see these six crowned heads together, is such that everybody finds the necessary expenditure unbearable, as it in truth is.

Brussels, 19th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Et che 'l Re di Boemia sia Imperatore, pur che lo elega Re di Romani.

† Mary Queen of Scots had been affianced to the Dauphin in the year 1548. (See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.*)

1556.
July 20.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

553. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbot has again conferred with the Cardinal of Lorraine, who told him that he had communicated to his most Christian Majesty what they discussed together, and that the King commended the office performed by the Abbot, whom he therefore exhorted to persevere, assuring him that he would find his most Christian Majesty excellently disposed to the quiet of Christendom; the Cardinal adding, "Lord Abbot, when giving the State of Milan to the Duke of Savoy, would not the King of England consent to the most Christian King's giving Savoy to the Duke of Orleans, and to his annexing Piedmont to the crown of France?" The Abbot replied that to make such a proposal would be tantamount to disturbing the present negotiation, as the Imperialists demonstrate clearly that one of the chief causes to induce them to form this resolve would be that of preventing the most Christian King from uniting either Savoy or Piedmont to his crown; they, on the contrary, choosing the Duke of Orleans to acknowledge their tenure from the empire (ch' el Duca di Orlieus riconosca quel stato dall' Imperio). The Cardinal repeated that the most Christian King would never depart from what was fair, but that it was requisite for his Majesty to see that the Imperialists did not molest the Pope, he being determined not to abandon his Holiness; in addition to which the King of France wished the Pope to be included in this negotiation. When Parpaglia inquired how this could be effected, the Cardinal said the Emperor should make the same reply to the Legate Motula as his most Christian Majesty had made to Caraffa with regard to approving the Pope's good-will about the Council; and that as to the peace, such difficulties as remained unsettled (irresolute) should be referred to his Holiness. Thereupon the Abbot inquired if the Cardinal of Lorraine wished him to write to Brussels, and he said that it would be well. The Cardinal asked whether the Abbot believed that the King of England would consent to place the Republic of Siena under the protection of the Church, like Bologna; and Parpaglia's reply was that he did not know the will of the King of England, but he thought if the King of France would restore Corsica, he, on his part, would satisfy his most Christian Majesty about the affairs of Tuscany. To this the Cardinal rejoined that nothing must be said about Corsica; and this point he considered the most difficult in the present negotiation, as the King of France would not object to refer the affair of Metz for decision to the Imperial Diet, as also with regard to other places occupied by France in Flanders, some compromise (compositione) might be devised, but Corsica would be the most difficult to adjust; and, in conclusion, he said he had spoken as of himself, and left it to the Abbot to write to Brussels as seemed fit to him. Parpaglia tells me that nothing of importance can be effected unless by the Constable, wherefore it would be expedient to mitigate his Excellency's [ill] will (animo) by some better hope of ransoming the prisoners, but that it was above all necessary for the Emperor and the King of England not to show that they held this

1556.

Paliano in such great account, as it was notorious everywhere that his most Christian Majesty had resolved to defend the Pope.

M. de Gordes, who had been sent thither about the ransom of the prisoners, was informed on behalf of the Emperor and the King of England that it would be well to suspend the negotiation for two months, during which interval thought would be had for fresh means, not only for their release, but for some arrangement whereby to bring about a good peace, which would smooth all difficulties.

Don Ruy Gomez, discussing the same topic with Gordes, told him that for certain important business which concerned his King he thought of going to Spain, and purposed going through France, hoping that his most Christian Majesty would allow him to do so, with which opportunity he would offer him such terms of peace that he felt sure they could not be refused; which having been announced by Gordes to his most Christian Majesty, he desired him to come away from the Imperial court instantly.

Paris, 20th July 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

July 21.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

554. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Lords of the Council are of opinion that by prohibiting the exportation hence of kerseys and other woollens for Flanders, by anyone, not even by the English themselves, the prices, which have risen greatly, will diminish; and what matters more is the wish to oblige the merchants-adventurers in reward for the services rendered to the Queen by accommodating her Majesty with considerable sums of money when required. It is intended to obtain a fresh loan from them at present; and lest the present supply of woollens in Flanders be increased, and that they may be enabled to dispose of their goods, and, being without competition, make sales, with greater despatch and advantage, the demand of the Venetian merchants, made through me, for an export permit at least for such kerseys as they have had manufactured and which are ready, they offering valid security for their mere transit through Flanders, has been of little avail, as intimated by me in my last. The arguments adduced orally and in writing by the merchants and by me, in reply to all the grounds alleged by them, took no effect; for the Bishop of Ely came to my house with the verbal reply in the name of the whole Council. They apologized not so much with reference to what had been remarked by us, as to more important matters to which there was no occasion to refer; and as to the loss and inconvenience incurred by Venetian merchants, they said that the prohibition had been issued solely for three months, and as in the meanwhile the road through France and all the others were open, the merchants might conveniently send their goods that way, if unable to abide this brief delay; and although my rejoinder demonstrated the cost, inconvenience, and risk of all those other roads, I could obtain no other decision. A similar refusal was given subsequently to the Hansards (*Osterling*) notwithstanding all their privileges, they

1556.

having made the same offer, to give security for the exportation of the woollens, these being merely embaled (*solamente imballate et preste*—sic); and the other nations have been treated in like manner; so all further demands may be considered vain and useless.

For this same purpose of cheapening woollens, I understand that they have stopped them in general for two years; not even the Staplers being allowed to export wools for any quarter, and with great difficulty could they obtain leave to make this last transmission (*questa ultima condotta*).

With regard to these commercial topics, your Serenity must know that two years ago, when King Philip landed at Southampton, the inhabitants there obtained an order from him for all ships loaded with malmsies to land them in that port, according to ancient custom; which measure the London merchants for their own interest opposed, and spoke to me about it, whereupon I gave notice accordingly to the Lord Treasurer [William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester], who promised my secretary not to despatch the privilege, and to summon the merchants and hear their case. From that time forth, although on the arrival of the "Vianuola," the "Barbara," and the "Tamisera," the inhabitants of Southampton urged fulfilment of the promise made them by the King, a mere word from the Lord Treasurer then sufficed nevertheless to obtain permission for them to unload here. The London merchants therefore expected the like with regard to other vessels, but were disappointed, for according to their account, the privilege having been already expedited and taken out (*carato*), the ship —, Marcopulo master, having arrived lately at Margate, and beginning to unload, the Hamptonians (*li Antonitani*) protested violently that he must be made to go back to Southampton, and obtained an order for the merchants not to enter anything in the London custom-house. I remonstrated strongly with Cardinal Pole and the whole Council, alleging that the ship's stowage (*stiva*) had been already moved (*mossa*), and that the vessel leaked, so that if they insisted on her putting back she would incur evident risk of loss; and being convinced by these and similar arguments, they left it to me to give drink-money (*beveraggio*) to the Hamptonians (*Antonitani*), and the vessel was allowed to continue unloading here. Although I complained of the wrong done to the merchants by not hearing them, according to the Treasurer's promise, before ratifying the privilege, they nevertheless took but little heed of this, and choose at any rate to enforce it; and unless the merchants here adduce valid arguments proving the especial detriment to the Crown (*del re*) through the inconvenience or loss to which they and the English themselves will be subjected to, by making all other ships unload at Southampton, they will not move the government to cancel the privilege, and must necessarily discharge there. I will not fail, as I have done hitherto, with your Serenity's support and authority, to assist and favour them, and to be their advocate and intercessor, whenever they apply to me, though I trust but little that they and I shall succeed, unless an arrangement of some sort be made with the Hamptonians (*li Antonitani*) to prevent their opposition, as it was for their sake and to benefit their town that all this was conceded

1556.

they being the more favoured, as at present no one dare oppose and gainsay the first boon granted by the King.

Her Majesty departed to-day, but merely went a distance of seven miles to Eltham, such has been the variety of resolves formed within the last week.

Before moving, the Queen chose to give orders and arrange about the prisoners, so as not to be troubled with this business during her absence, having some of them released on giving security, others being fined, others remaining in prison as they were; to others she conceded liberty within the Tower; and the execution of those condemned to death is deferred, from what I hear, until her return, perhaps in order that the King being then here, may, with his usual clemency, obtain their entire release, so as to gain for himself so much the more favour and popularity.

Doctor Cheke at the last moment asked and obtained permission to speak with Cardinal Pole, and by the goodness of God his most illustrious Lordship's words produced such an effect upon him that he recanted entirely (*che egli si è in tutto riditto*) and purposes living catholically, submitting to any penance the Cardinal pleased, and which reduces itself to a brief penitential and confessional discourse in public, as an example for others, in the presence of the courtiers, by whom, having been the King's schoolmaster (*maestro*), he is chiefly known, whereupon free and secure he will be restored to his wife and children, and to his estates (*et alli beni suoi*); this act being in truth very advantageous, by reason of the universal opinion entertained of his learning, and of the good life he led, as his example will confirm those who are virtuous (*li buoni*), and serve to dispose and move some (*corroded in MS.*)

Last week, eight of the Queen's ships alone, after chasing ten English pirate-vessels which they attacked, brought six of them into Plymouth harbour, the captain of which six, a man of valour and condition, who made his escape to Ireland in a small boat (*con un piccolo botto*), thinking to be safe there, was killed by the natives. On board the four that sheered-off was one Killigrew,* an Englishman, an old pirate, whose name and exploits are most notorious, and he is therefore in great repute and favour with the French.† As some ships have gone in pursuit of them, it is believed that they may have the same end as their consorts.

Yesterday Don Francisco de Mendoza was sent back to the King, accompanied by the courier Gamboa, that he may return in haste with the reply to certain despatches as usual. Mendoza assured the Queen of the King's immediate coming. Requests his recal on the arrival of the ambassador Surian.

London, 21st July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 21.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

555. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with KING PHILIP, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went yesterday to visit the King of Spain on his return from Laura," and to congratulate him on the coming hither of his brother-

* Peter Kylligrew. (See Domestic Calendar, August 18 and 21, 1556, p. 86.)

† In date of 31st July 1556, Machyn (p. 111) records the execution of six "robbers of the see," but gives no names.

1556.

in-law and sister, which assurances he reciprocated, his manner being kind, and the expression of his countenance cheerful. After taking leave of his Majesty I had a long conversation with Don Ruy Gomez, who said that (speaking confidentially with me as was his wont) at a secret conference with the French ambassador he told him that if he on his part would do as became a true minister, he, Ruy Gomez, ventured to say that a good peace would be made between the two crowns, as he knew his king would offer very fair terms; wherefore he should induce King Henry to send commissioners, and King Philip would do the like; but he found that the ambassador had no such intention; adding, he knew by sure signs that the King of France was determined to break the truce, but would assign as the cause the affair of the prisoners, about which he had no reason to complain, and that King Henry waited for the Pope to stir, his Holiness, on the other hand, wishing the Emperor and King Philip to commence; but that this they will not do, as they choose the world to know that they are averse to war, and that the object of the Pope and the King of France is to make them do things by force, but that his King will never be drawn into a war by these means, and would rather shed all the blood in the veins of his faithful subjects; and that indeed, from courtesy, fair concessions will be made. He then entered into the following detail, that it seemed strange to him to hear sinister advices from every quarter, and of so much preparation as was being made by the most Christian King's ministers to give him trouble, and that as matters could not be worse than they are, he hoped that they would arrive at the opposite extreme, namely, at some auspicious result; and he said he knew his Majesty to be good, and that he never sought to usurp what belonged to others, so he trusted in God that He would watch over his interests.

To-day I went to visit the King of Bohemia, and after congratulating him on his arrival in this town, his Majesty came almost to the door of the chamber to meet me, holding his bonnet in his hand a long while, and returned my compliments graciously. I enquired whether his departure would take place so immediately as had been told me, to which he replied, "In truth I purpose remaining here a few days, and have come to give satisfaction to the Emperor, he having very earnestly requested me; and to speak freely with you, as is my nature, which has moreover done me harm, and as I think I may be confidential, I may perhaps stay yet longer, in order to learn the cause of my coming; and I know that great things are said, but I believe I may say, '*Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus*;' " and he added, "*The world is in great agitation; I do not find this court in the state in which I have so often seen it. The Italian affairs are ill managed, and by persons full of pride and caprice (gente piena di fantasia et superbia), so that I am accustomed to call them dwarf Spaniards (spagnoletti); and when I heard that the King, my brother-in-law, had made the marriage with the Queen of England, I said that if his Majesty were so fortunate as to have the Spaniards and the English on good terms with each other, as the Queen had been with him, his power might be considered greater than that of any Prince in Christendom, but*

1556.

(and this he said with a loud laugh) from what I hear, the Spaniards have been enlightened by the English (ma (con gran riso disse) per quanto intendo i Spagnoli sono stati chiariti dagli Inglesi)." With such address as seemed fit to me I left to his Majesty the satisfaction of speaking, and after having made him a loving offer of your Serenity's good-will I took my leave, telling him that to-morrow I should go to visit his most Serene Consort, and on my departure he again accompanied me towards the door with the same gracious and courteous forms as on receiving me.

Yesterday evening the Queens Eleanor and Maria, the King of Spain, and the King and Queen of Bohemia, and the Duchess of Lorraine, supped together in the park, there being several sorts of musical performances, and other amusements, which banquet was given by Queen Maria; and this evening the King of Spain will do the like by the aforesaid Majesties. On the 25th instant the personages of these courts will make a tourney on foot, and on the morrow they will joust. The Queen of Bohemia has been several times with the Emperor, and alone, for a long while, and also with Queen Maria, who, according to report, is charged to commence negotiating such matters as the Emperor has a mind (*ha in animo*) to settle with his son-in-law. The persons of the court of the said King of Bohemia say that the Emperor and the King of Spain will be deceived if they think to avail themselves of the name and person of their King, not only with the German nation but with others; or to make him remain as Governor of these States for their preservation in case of war with the King of France; or give him the charge of vicar-general in Italy, to march troops thither in case of a rupture with the Pope; as their King does not choose to be their Majesties' Delegate (*sustituito*) either in these provinces or in Italy, as he would not only lose repute, but incur detriment in many ways; and that by the exchange of the Tyrol, Stiria, and Carinthia, and should the Emperor choose to renounce the Empire to the King of the Romans, he would remain under the obligation to do what he could for their Majesties, and for their benefit (*et che co'l contracambio del Tiruol, Stiria, et Carintia, et rinuntia che volesse far l'Impre. dell' Imperio al Re di Romani, restaria con obbligo a queste Maestà di far per esse, et a loro benefieio, quello che egli potesse*).

Three days ago the son of the Earl of Arundel [Henry Fitzalan, Lord Maltravers] arrived here, having been sent by the Queen of England to visit the King and Queen of Bohemia, and with a commission to use every entreaty with the King her consort, that on the departure of his brother-in-law and sister his Majesty be pleased to return to England, praying him to remove whatever impediment may arise any longer to delay farther this his return, so earnestly desired by her; and he also performed an office in the name of the said Queen with the Emperor, for him to exercise his authority with his son, that she may be gratified by the performance of the promises received from their Majesties. The King of Bohemia, besides other loving words, said, that were he not impeded by his usual indisposition, he would go postwise to see her, but the shortness of the time, and urgent business compelling him to return

1556.

immediately to his father, he would send her one of his gentlemen to reciprocate this loving office; the Emperor and King Philip repeating very positively to him (the envoy) the promise that on the departure of the King and Queen of Bohemia his royal Majesty will go to England. Lord Maltravers also said that Queen Mary had written to Lord Courtenay, at Venice, to let him know that all the first and last charges brought against him had been found to be false, and that she loves and always shall love him in conformity with his station (*secondo le conditioni sue*), and that she was induced to perform this office for the sake of truth, and that he may not continue to despair of the King's favour and of hers; especially as his most Christian Majesty is understood not to have omitted the performance of loving offices (*dì far de gli officij amorevoli*) with regard to the said Lord Courtenay. Sir John Masone, counsellor of the Queen of England, has obtained her permission to return home, provided it be confirmed by her consort, and on going to ask this favour of him, as necessary on account of his private affairs, Masone was answered that the King could not grant it him at present, because on his arrival in England everybody would infer that he (the King) did not purpose going thither so immediately as he intends doing, but that in a few days he will give him a decisive answer.

The Emperor again says, and does so every day, that before the middle of next month he intends to depart for Spain, and he has despatched a harbinger to Holland again to inspect the cabins (*gli appartamenti*) which he had constructed the last time, when everything was prepared, but no one will believe this until it comes to pass, saying besides, that although the affairs of Africa and Spain require the presence of one of their Majesties in the last-named kingdom, yet is there greater need for the Emperor to remain in these provinces should war break out, on account both of the King of France and the Pope; and it is supposed that should his Imperial Majesty move from hence, it will be for the purpose of taking some step about the affairs of England (*per far qualche affetto per le cose d'Inghilterra*).

Brussels, 21st July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

556. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with KING PHILIP, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of Spain having heard from a Fleming that the Cardinal of Pisa had left Baden, near Spire, and was coming hither in great haste, despatched two couriers yesterday, by different roads, to ascertain the truth, as also the road taken by his right reverend Lordship, to enable him to give orders as he subsequently did to the Prince of Ascoli and Count Chinchon to be the first to go and meet him; and afterwards the Duke of Savoy to go as far as Louvain; King Philip, with the King of Bohemia, intending to go and receive his Lordship at the gate of this town; and for his lodging they have prepared the palace of the Bishop of Tournai. As yet the King's couriers have not returned, and one has arrived here, despatched from Bologna to the Cardinal, with a commission, should he not find him, to take the letters waiting for

1556.

him here, and to depart with them for delivery to his right reverend Lordship at his present abode. This being heard here, the postmaster has been desired not to let him have horses for his return, the Emperor and King Philip choosing to know first of all if their couriers have found the Cardinal, and whether the news of the imprisonment of Don Garcia de la Vega and the postmaster Tassis be true; and the Nuncio having gone to negotiate with Don Ruy Gomez about certain benefices, and talking to him as usual about the Pope's good will, Ruy Gomez, in a rage, answered him that seeing all his facts at variance with similar assurances, he was compelled to believe either that he had always intended to deceive him, or had himself been deceived by his Holiness.

The French ambassador went again lately to the King, making a fresh demand for the release of the prisoners, saying that thing alone might cause the truce to be broken, his most Christian Majesty being unable any longer to withstand the words and tears of their blood-relations (*congiunti di sangue loro*), who demand justice of him by his causing the agreement to be executed. In reply the King spoke him fair, saying he would send M. de Lalain to him to give a more precise answer, and from what the ambassador has said, Lalain went to him, and he is perfectly satisfied with the courtesy of his words, but says that his King chooses to witness deeds, and that otherwise he will do what is becoming; nor does the ambassador scruple to discourse indiscriminately with everybody, saying anything he pleases, as if certain that the truce will be broken.

It is reported here that the Duke of Sesa, who was expected from Spain, has been arrested by the French; nor does any Spaniard now think it safe to pass through that country, and many have asked the ambassador for safe-conducts; and from the report of an engineer who has returned from the Flemish frontiers, to give information about such of them as should be garrisoned, if the truce be broken, he saw evident signs of its not lasting, by reason of the many and various supplies with which the French have provided their places.

The Abbot of San Saluto writes to the Regent of Milan that he has had several close conferences with the Constable of France about the affair of the peace, and through him he spoke with the King, who said to him, that to reduce to one word all that he could say, he would be content that the Duke of Savoy should receive the Milanese from King Philip, and that King Henry would give him his sister in marriage, on condition that his Excellency renounce his claims on Savoy and Piedmont to the second son of his most Christian Majesty; but this proposal has not been taken into consideration, both because the said Abbot [Parpaglia] is the subject of the Duke of Savoy, and also because he is supposed to incline towards the interests of France.

Brussels, 23rd July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 25.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

557. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with KING PHILIP, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday a gentleman arrived here postwise, having been sent by Cardinal Caraffa to the Cardinal of Pisa, and from what he told

1556.

the Nuncio, who repeated it to King Philip, he is commissioned to tell Pisa that his master, Caraffa, seeing the King of France constantly well inclined towards the peace and the Council-General, will delay his return, although called to Rome, in the hope of hearing what Pisa may have negotiated with their Majesties, who do not evince satisfaction at the coming of this messenger, neither do their ministers, considering it an artifice devised by Cardinal Caraffa, as one of the two couriers who went in quest of Pisa, after riding 200 miles, could hear nothing of his right reverend Lordship.

The King of Bohemia remains daily with the Emperor for two or three hours, and from what the Provost of Trent tells me they have not yet settled anything, but to-day they were to draw up a schedule of articles (*una forma di capitoli*), to see if they could agree together. I, wishing to discuss the particulars, as heard by me from several persons at the Court, namely, that to the said King of Bohemia they would give Burgundy, which yields one hundred thousand crowns annual revenue, and would cause the Archduke Ferdinand to have for wife the sister of the Queen of England, with a promise that the Prince of Spain [Don Carlos], should take for wife, when she becomes of marriageable age, the eldest daughter of said King Maximilian, finding means also to marry her sisters for him; the Provost answered me, that for the present the only thing he could assure me positively was, that it was true his Imperial Majesty had made certain offers, which of themselves were good, *but that to speak to me freely in confidence, the Emperor showed the piece of meat in one hand to his son-in-law, who was afraid there might be a cudgel in the other, like the dog who doubtless looks at the morsel and longs for it, but by the dread of a heavy blow is deterred from taking it.* I, laughing with him at the simile, and wishing adroitly to ascertain the quantity and quality of this meat, he said *I might figure to myself that the Emperor purposed giving Sienna or Milan to the said King, and availing himself of his authority and person against anyone soever, and in whatever way suited his Imperial Majesty and King Philip; but that not having money and other means whereby to keep possession of either of those states, he would incur the loss both of them and his repute, and sacrifice his legitimate hope of becoming Emperor; adding, that let them say what they will, and whether the Emperor resign the imperial dignity or not, Maximilian will never do anything to his own disadvantage, whether they give or deprive him of these hopes, as either sooner or later he believes himself sure of obtaining that grade; but should the Emperor wish to win him over to his son, rendering him as true a friend as he already is the close kinsman of King Philip, he ought to give him something solid and firm (soda et ferma), as, for instance, by making an exchange of these provinces for the county of the Tyrol, and the duchies of Styria and Carinthia.* The Provost then expatiated on the many advantages which both these kings (Philip and Maximilian), and the whole House of Austria, might thus from time to time obtain, demonstrating on the other hand the many ills that might befall

1556.

them, and saying in conclusion, that he would quote Horace to me, repeating the very words used to me by King Maximilian, thus—*"parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus,"* saying, that should the war with the Pope and the King of France not take place, facts would convince me that nothing of importance will be stipulated, *as the Emperor was not so fond of giving as of taking* (*perchè S. C. Mia non era tanto amica del dare quanto del tuore*).

Brussels, 25th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pusini.*]

July 25.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

558. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday the Pope told Camillo Orsini that he had sent for him to Rome to give him the government and care of it, with regard to the war; that he was certain he would not refuse it, as besides being his country, it is the most honourable city in the world, and the See of the vicar of Christ.

On Sunday (as said by the cashiers of the banks who carried the money) the Pope deposited in the castle 300,000 crowns. On the morrow Cardinal S. Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo] went to his Holiness and prayed him, for the love and respect he bore him, and for their ancient friendship, to grant him (S. Giacomo) a favour. The Pope, expecting him to ask for Don Garcilasso, or for some one else of the Imperial prisoners, replied that he might make his demand, and that if fair it should be conceded him. The Cardinal then said that he wished for leave to speak freely to him for half an hour, and to tell him the state of affairs, and what is said about his Holiness, who replied that he would hear him willingly and quietly. Thereupon the Cardinal told him much, blaming the present government and his ministers, who counselled him to wage a war, which would prove so detrimental to the whole world. He demonstrated to his Holiness that it was not well for him to lavish so much abuse on the Emperor and the King of England, for after all it was undeserved, as never had they withdrawn their obedience from him like the King of France, whom he praises so much.* He told him that he had erred in giving the bishopric of Cominges to Cardinal Caraffa, because he is an Italian, and cannot reside there, neither can he speak either French or Latin; and that by acting thus the Pope, instead of being the universal father of all, as in duty bound, shows himself partial to the King of France; and he also told him that the privation of Marc' Antonio Colonna had no foundation, nor could it last. With great difficulty could the Pope restrain himself, and told the Cardinal he loved him better than ever, that henceforth he would proceed more reservedly, and that his words were caused by his being naturally choleric. S. Giacomo replied that many persons believed his Holiness' choler to be feigned as a foil, when he had no reason to assign, and that he made use of it to silence reply (*per non lasciar parlar gli altri*).

* Che non l'havessero mai levato l'obedienza, come havea fatto il Re di Franza.

1556.

This conversation having ended without anger, Cardinal S. Giacomo began to have some hope of an adjustment, and sent his secretary to Francesco di Sanguini (who precisely on that day at 5 p.m. returned from Naples) not to tell the Pope anything vexatious, as he had left him well disposed. Signor Ferrante obeyed, for although the Duke of Alva had blustered greatly about the imprisonment of Don Garcilasso, saying that if the slightest personal injury were done him he would have four of the chief members of the Caraffa family beheaded, he did not tell the Pope this, and merely informed the Duke of Paliano that at Naples they were giving [earnest?] money, and had despatched [recruiting?] captains for 10,000 foot soldiers.

Don Garcilasso is examined daily on fresh charges. He is supposed to have had an understanding with some Roman, who dared to defend Marc' Antonio Colonna, which if proved would send some heads flying (*faria saltar teste*). One of the Roman cavaliers of the guard [Bernardo Caffanello] told the Pope that if he would let them know who they are, they themselves would quarter the culprits; and the Cardinal "Decano,"* who had dined with the Pope, told him that being joined with his King he had nothing to fear; to which his Holiness replied in a rage, "What need have I of your King? I have the Emperor under these feet;" and the Cardinal having said that the King was his servant, and ready to execute all his commands, the Pope continued, "We love the King, and will make use of him as we would even of the Turk, for the need of this See Apostolic; but it is not your business to speak when we are speaking." Then, unmindful of his promise to Cardinal S. Giacomo, the Pope proceeded with his usual gross abuse of the Emperor, and exhorted the Romans to arm, together with the women and boys, and that those who could not carry arms were to throw stones; and said that if they were truly Romans they would avenge the blood of their ancestors, and the injuries done them by the Spaniards, who had slaughtered and sacked them in their homes; and twice or thrice he repeated that thus would they show their ancient Roman courage.

Rome, 25th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 25.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

559. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Gordes has arrived from Brussels, and is bearer of a letter addressed to the Constable by M. de Benincourt [Ponce de Lalain] to whom belongs the ransom of M. de Montmorency, informing his Excellency that should he desire the release of his son for 50,000 crowns, he would concede it him on condition that the reply be sent to him, Benincourt, in the course of the present month of July, and at the same time security from the merchants at Antwerp, that one month after the aforesaid release his Excellency would send him 50,000 gold crowns of the sun, drawn (*cavati*) from France, should

* Jean de Bellai, senior cardinal, elected by Paul III. on the 20th May 1535. (See Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 145-147.)

1556.

the sum not be disbursed by the merchants. His Excellency determined to accept the terms, and despatched a courier to Lyons to arrange for the [bankers] Guadagni to send to Antwerp to give the security, and then at the appointed time send the sum in cash. Thus will there be an end of this negotiation, but, although it is very agreeable to the Constable, as it gives him back his son, for whom he has greatly longed, yet as the conditions do not seem in accordance with his dignity, both because previously they announced their intention of accepting a smaller ransom, as also by their showing they trust but little in his word and promise, he does not evince much joy at this arrangement, and is extremely angry; so the persons who would wish the negotiation for peace between the two to advance, disapprove of this proceeding on the part of the Imperialists.

The Legate Caraffa has informed the Imperial ambassador that the affairs of Rome being in a more tranquil state, and the Cardinal of Pisa [Motula] having received orders to continue his journey, he (Caraffa) had determined to await his colleague's arrival at Brussels. Cardinal Caraffa says he shall wait as long as necessary for replies about the agreement for peace and for the Council, wishing above all things to convey some comfort to the Pope respecting these matters. M. de Montluc, with the title of his most Christian Majesty's lieutenant-general in Tuscany, has already departed for Marseilles, and will await the Legate there.

It has been determined to send a new ambassador to England, Prothonotary de Noailles, the brother of the ambassador who returned lately, because although on the King's part it seemed superfluous to keep one ambassador with the husband and another with the wife, yet considering the many affairs and schemes (*negotij et maneggi*) which his Majesty has in that kingdom, it has not seemed fit to have a person there of inferior grade to that of ambassador, and in a few days he will depart.

Don Juan de Luna, warder of Milan, has come to the King, it being reported that he fled from the Imperial court.

Paris, 25th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

560. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with KING PHILIP, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning the Spaniards, with marks of gladness, circulated a report that last evening the Emperor and the King of Bohemia concluded a compact, which for the future will produce a practically good understanding between all the members of the House of Austria, the only particular mentioned by them being that the Emperor and King Philip give Maximilian the county (*il contado*) of Burgundy, guaranteeing its revenue to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns, and should the province not yield that sum the deficit to be supplied by the King of Spain. The Spaniards do not say to what conditions the King of Bohemia binds himself, nor can the form of the convention be ascertained, no minister having

1556.

been present at this conference, their Majesties choosing to keep the matter to themselves, after taking a solemn oath to observe its articles. The personages of King Maximilian's court say they have no sign whatever of these conditions, and merely know that their King has announced to everybody his departure for the 10th of next month, and that he will go first with his consort to see Antwerp. One of his chief ministers has been heard to say that the King of Spain has written a very kind letter to the King of the Romans, in which, besides other courteous expressions, he tells him that as the Emperor his father and Lord is quite determined to put aside the administration of the rest of his affairs, and to go to Spain, he, King Philip, wishes him, the King of the Romans, to accept him as his son, in like manner as he will receive him for his father.

The French ambassador sent an express to Zeeland to know whether the Emperor's orders for a good number of ships to be prepared to accompany him to Spain had been executed, and the ambassador says that to-day he has received news that hitherto thirty-two "*urche*" had been detained, the crews reporting that this was done for the purpose of going to England, and that all the necessary arrangements have been made in the ship which is to convey the Emperor, who every day goes telling all persons indiscriminately, and in very forcible language, that before the middle of next month he intends to have left Brussels.

This morning the Nuncio received an advice from an express sent by him to Maastricht to hear something about the Legate Pisa, of whom he had received notice that he had just arrived within three leagues of that city, travelling incognito from fear of the Lutherans. The Nuncio announced this to their Majesties' chief ministers, who immediately sent off the courier, who had failed to find Pisa, to ascertain the truth of this, and that they might send the Prince of Ascoli and Count Chinchon, who have been appointed to meet his right reverend Lordship.

The courier despatched by the King of Spain in pursuit of Don Juan de Luna arrived last night, and says he reached him at a village near Peronne, a place belonging to the King of France. On presenting to him the letter written by King Philip's maggiordomo, Don Diego de Azevedo, by commission from his Majesty, exhorting him to return, and promising not only to exculpate him from the charge which he thought had been brought against him by the Emperor, but to benefit him in such a manner as always to render him satisfied. He replied immediately, and wrote a second letter to his son, who is page to the King, giving him notice of what has taken place hitherto, and with regard to the King's promises, expressing himself precisely as follows, "God grant they may take effect, as I have already promised a gentleman in the service of the Constable of France, that on obtaining the terms desired by me from his most Christian Majesty I have constituted myself his vassal, nor shall I any longer be able to serve my natural sovereign, on account of him who unjustly degraded me." (*"Che ottenendo le condizioni, ch' Io desidero da S. M.^{te} Crist.^{na}, mi son fatto suo vassallo, nè potro più servire il mio natural Re, per cagione de chi ingiustamente mi ha disgradato."*)

1556.

The French ambassador has again been commissioned by the Constable, together with the agent sent by his Excellency heretofore for the ransom of his eldest son, to make a final offer of forty thousand crowns, as he cannot do more by reason of the great number of his children; which proposal being made by them to Don Ray Gomez, he replied that the King had caused the ransom to be reduced by 20,000 from the 100,000 originally demanded, and that neither could he, nor ought he, further to extend his authority by depriving the captor of what belonged to him, but that he would, nevertheless, do everything possible to gratify his Excellency, though according to general report neither he nor the other prisoners will any longer be released.

Brussels, 26th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 27.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

561. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Yesterday morning at table the Cardinals Perugia [Fulvio della Cornia, Bishop of Perugia], Seraceno, Trani, and Ariano, having dined with his Holiness, the Pope said that the treacherous acts of the Imperialists came more and more to light daily, and that Romans and even cardinals were concerned in them, saying he who "*intingit mecum manum in parapside, hic me traditurus est*,"* but that he would treat them as they deserved, degrading them from the cardinalate and cutting off heads, so that those who had rotten livers (*fegato guasto*) would do well to take heed for themselves, as what he said was uttered by him from the benignity of his nature, which was averse to bloodshed.

Many persons present also remarked that when the Cardinal of Perugia gave him the napkin to wipe his hands the Pope took it impetuously, and rising from table in a rage, went into the library to say the "office," having left in the audience chamber the aforesaid cardinals and the Portuguese ambassador,† who had joined them. Having finished the office, the Pope returned into the chamber with a very gladsome countenance, but when the Portuguese ambassador approached him, saying that he purposed despatching a courier to his King, and was therefore come to his Holiness to hear whether he could give any good news to his Majesty, who is the Emperor's brother-in-law (*germano*), and tell him that his Holiness has pardoned the said Emperor and his son, and is reconciled to them, the Pope would not allow him to proceed farther, and drawing up his sleeve and rochet half way up his arm, and shaking it, as usual with him when in a rage, he said, "Lord ambassador, let there be no more talk of peace, but of war. Woe is me (*ohimè!*) are you not aware of the impiety and acts of treachery of these rogues, heretics, and scelerats (*scelerati*)? We will give them as much war as they shall desire. Charles has always been schismatic, and Philip rapacious; both one and the other are unworthy of the so many favours received by them from

* See Gospel according to St. John, chapter 14, verses 21-26.

† Don Andres de Castro. (See Foreign Calendar, Index.)

1556.

the goodness of God. Continuing to act in conformity with their nature, they sought to outrage us (*volevano assassinarne*), as they did heretofore; we will deprive them of their realms and dignity, and do our worst by them, and hope in God that He will show how powerful His most holy arm is. They are not of the blood of the Catholic King, nor of Queen Isabella, to wage war on us, which signifies to wage it against Christ, without any cause in the world. By seeking to outrage us (*in cercare di assassinarne*) they will have greatly injured themselves." The ambassador, seeing the Pope so exasperated, went away without transacting any of the business for which he had come, the four cardinals remaining greatly perplexed, pondering the discourse held at table, and which of them it concerned; but this morning everybody knew for certain that it was meant for the Cardinal of Perugia, news having come that his brother Ascanio della Cornia had fled from Velletri to Nettuno, having placed troops in the citadel, and raised the cry of "Empire and Spain."*

This morning Consistory assembled, and before he made his entry the Pope had the Cardinal of Perugia put in the castle.

His Holiness spoke with great vehemence as usual against "his traitors," without naming any one in particular. He said he should have no regard for any sort of person whatever, not even for Cardinals; all his gestures and his countenance evinced extreme anger. The Fiscal Advocate (*il Fiscale*) and Messer Silvestro Aldobrandini being then introduced to plead the rights (*per la ragione*) of the See Apostolic, they commenced reading an opinion (*sentenza*) that whereas for his misdeeds Marc' Antonio Colonna had been deprived of his state, whereby his Holiness had willed to do justice without scruple, and had with the same justice willed that in no place, nor by any one, might he be assisted and favoured; and it being heard that the Emperor and King Philip his son had aided him with cavalry and infantry, captains and money; it seemed to them, the "Fiscale" and Aldobrandini, that the Emperor and the King of England had incurred the penalties contained in the sentence, that they had forfeited all the rights of their fiefs, and that as an example to others they ought to be punished and chastised (*puniti e castigati*)†. The Pope replied that the Fiscal Advocate and his colleague having performed their office so freely, he was pleased with them; that this was a thing of importance, that he would think about it, and not form any decision without the counsel of his right reverend brothers.

Cardinal Tournon has written from Narni to Cardinal d'Armagnac, that on account of the heat he will not proceed beyond the Duchy of Urbino. It becomes daily more and more evident that he left Rome because the freedom with which he expressed his disapproval

* The Duke of Paliano told the Venetian Ambassador that Ascanio della Cornia, being military governor of Velletri for the Pope, had an understanding with Don Garcilasso de la Vega, which being discovered, he was ordered to Rome, but excused himself under various pretences, and when troops were sent to bring him by force, he made his escape as aforesaid.

† By the letter of the Duke of Alva to the Pope (Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 250), it is seen that this demand made by the Procurator and Fiscal Advocate was one of the insults most resented by the Imperialists.

1556.

of this war, made the Pope rather distrust him; so he did not think it compatible with his dignity to remain.

Rome, 27th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 30.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

562. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the receipt of the advices of the fresh troubles which beset the Pope, Cardinal Caraffa has informed the King that his Holiness wished him to do three things—first, that in Rome or Venice a deposit be made of 500,000 crowns, of which 350,000 to be supplied by the King, and 150,000 by his Holiness; that his most Christian Majesty should also be pleased to send him 300 spears, to whom the Pope would assign their garrisons in the Papal States; and, thirdly, that his Christian Majesty should send 12 of his galleys to remain at Civitavecchia; and to charge his ministers in Italy, on hearing from the Pope his need, without any further order from the King, to place at his Holiness' disposal the aforesaid subsidies, both of money, troops, and galleys, besides the infantry already destined for him.

The King of France, for the present not wishing to break the truce, provided he can do so without loss of dignity, has often endeavoured to satisfy the Legate with general expressions, assuring him that not only will he not fail in his promised protection, but that should the need require it, he, for the defence of the Holy Church, would pass into Italy in person, together with all his forces; but that, knowing the position of the King of England, it was hardly credible that he would move against the Pope, most especially as his most Christian Majesty had openly declared he would send 3,000 infantry into Italy for his protection. But the Legate does not cease urging the King to answer him more precisely, and having understood that his Majesty would wish him to depart, he says he will not do so until he obtains a clearer determination from the King, who diverts him with every sort of amusement, endeavouring thus to retain his adherence (di tenerlo), not wishing to exasperate him, lest on his arrival at Rome he turn his mind to fresh thoughts.

The Constable sent back M. de Gordes to Brussels to accept the offer of 50,000 crowns for the ransom of his son, and the sureties have been sent from Lyons for transmission to Antwerp; in addition to which, a German here offered the Constable spontaneously to do the like; the money also being ready, having been disbursed by his Excellency's wife, being derived from what is called her nest-egg (*sua musina*); so that there are hopes of seeing the son so greatly longed for, within a few days.

Don Juan de Luna having escaped from Brussels, came to his most Christian Majesty, who welcomed him liberally; and subsequently the Constable told him to be of good cheer (*ch' el stia di buon animo*), as his Majesty will recompense him for all the services he has rendered to the Emperor.

Paris, 30th July 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.

July 30.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

563. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Pisa [Motula] has arrived at Maastricht. The Nuncio at the Imperial court sent him a courier, informing him that by reason of the fresh movements discovered at Rome, if he could avoid going to the court he was to do so; the Nuncio adding that although three couriers had been sent to the King, one from his ambassador at Rome, one from the Duke of Alva, and one from Don Ferrante Gonzaga, giving account of the arrest of La Chaux (*Lasso*) and Capiluppi, yet their Majesties' ministers evinced an extraordinary wish for the Legate Motula to arrive at the court, which seeming to him, the Nuncio, a thing constrained (*cosa forciata*), he recommended him to take a decided course (*a pigliar partito*), so the Legate, leaving his retinue [to follow], departed postwise with only six attendants, nor was it known whither he went; but Cardinal Caraffa is hourly expecting his secretary, Antonio Sachetti, whom he sent to Brussels to see the right reverend of Pisa [Motula], and to bring him back word of the state of his negotiation.

Paris, 30th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

July 30.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

564. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the French Ambassador and Don Ruy Gomez discoursed a long while together, the latter expressing great surprise at the most Christian King's now sending so many and such various supplies to these frontiers, saying that these are deeds in accordance with the words usually uttered at the court of France, and that consequently King Philip was certain not only that peace would not take place, but that the truce must be broken. The ambassador answered him, that there was no cause for surprise, nor for taking amiss the provision which his most Christian Majesty was making in several places, as Princes are always wont to be jealous about their fortresses; but that his King had indeed reason to be suspicious of the great number of armed ships which are ready for action in Zealand, it being given out that this is for the Emperor's voyage to Spain, which he, the ambassador, did not believe that his Imperial Majesty will undertake. Don Ruy Gomez then told the ambassador that the King of Spain had conferred on the Duchess of Parma the favour of being allowed to receive her income of 18,000 crowns on account of dower, provided the King of France allow Queen Eleanor to receive her marriage portion in France, which is nearly of the same amount.

The Nuncio says he is in hourly expectation of a reply to a letter written by him to the Legate Pisa, exhorting him to come to this court without apprehension, as their Majesties would receive him most graciously, and he believes him to have stopped at some place immediately on arriving in the French territory. Their Majesties are said to have despatched the courier to give the Legate confidence, and as a final experiment to show that they do not wish for war with the Pope; and should he still persist in dragging them into it, we shall soon hear of their sending cavalry

1556.

and infantry, to be raised by Duke Eric of Brunswick, who is here, and by the Duke of Holstein and Count Schwartzenburg, amounting in all to five thousand horse and five thousand foot, for service in Italy; and it has been several times recommended to send an honourable commission to Don Ferrante Gonzaga, on whom they think they can rely, having restored him to his honour by depriving those who calumniated him of their grades.

The Emperor every day tells all persons indiscriminately that before the middle of next month he is determined to depart for Spain, and some persons of the court say that he has already provided the hundred and thirty thousand crowns; and as a mark of affection towards his confessor, he has caused King Philip to assign him an annual pension of two hundred crowns; dispensing him from the trouble of following his Majesty to Spain. Yesterday, moreover, when talking with his sisters, daughter, son, and son-in-law, turning to this last, and to his daughter especially, he said he should depart, greatly comforted and satisfied at having seen them, which he did not expect, and that he hoped they would always live lovingly together, and that he thought his departure would take place two or three days after they commenced their journey, and that shortly after them the King of Spain will depart for England.

No other settlement has been made between their Majesties except that of adjusting the affairs of the Emperor's daughter, and certain other credits due to the King of the Romans from his Imperial Majesty; and the Emperor has executed a writing whereby the King of Spain is bound to pay the King of Bohemia annually about sixty thousand crowns on security in the kingdom of Naples, or in Burgundy.

The King of Bohemia, when conversing with the Nuncio, uttered nearly the same conceits and words as to me, with the following additional particulars; the one, that the business on account of which he had been called might have been done without his coming hither; the other, that he knew that many persons had complained of his not having sound opinions (*che non sentisse bene*) about the true religion, and that in like manner as he knew himself to be innocent of this accusation, so he hoped in God to have some day a post in which he should be able to demonstrate the devotion of his mind towards the See Apostolic, offering himself in loving terms to his Holiness; after which he commenced greatly blaming the mode of proceeding of the ministers here, especially of those who held the most important charges, and from what I hear he is accustomed to use this language to any person in whom he thinks he can place a little confidence. Yesterday the said King received a letter from his father, urging him to return to act as vice-regent, his Majesty intending to go to the Diet at Ratisbon, and having to remain there to assist the forces in Hungary, expressing great fear lest the Turks overpower his troops; and, he adds, that he is to tell the Emperor to go auspiciously, according to his intention, to Spain, that he, the King of the Romans, will bear willingly this very heavy burden of the affairs of the Empire, and that the Em-

* The ambassador now repeats what he wrote in the preceding letter.

1556.

peror is not to think of depriving himself of the title, as he, the King of the Romans, does not wish for it, because, having been upheld by his Imperial Majesty's good prudence and felicity, he would not that, owing to the present troublous state of the world's affairs, this rule and felicity should be changed; all which things the King of Bohemia reported to the Emperor.

The French ambassador did not go to visit the King of Bohemia until yesterday, and from what the Provost of Trent told me, during the conversation, which lasted more than two hours and a half, a great change was visible in the countenance of his Majesty, who at first greeted him with fair and courteous words and manners, and at length, seeing that he would never go away, and that he continued saying disagreeable things, he was compelled to dismiss him, which he, however, did very adroitly. The Provost remarked to me that the ambassador performed this office with his Majesty for the express purpose of making the Emperor and King Philip suspect him of having a good understanding with the King of France; and in the Provost's presence, when talking with some of his confidential attendants, the King of Bohemia said that the ambassador, in certain impertinent terms (*con certi modi impertinenti*), had requested him to perform offices with the King of Spain for the release of the prisoners in order that the truce might be confirmed, using several sorts of words to ascertain whether hatred still prevailed between him and the Emperor and his son.

Brussels, 30th July 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

565. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day I went by appointment to the Pope, between 3 and 4 p.m., and as he had kept me waiting for an hour, during which he was reposing, immediately on my entering the presence chamber he addressed me thus: "Excuse me, for as we do not sleep at night, we are compelled to rest by day; the heat, and our troubles, owing to the malignity of these traitors, are so great that they deprive us of our sleep by night. Had not the Almighty helped us, this Cornia would have succeeded in perpetrating the greatest act of treason imaginable, as it entailed the change of state.

Their plots and acts of treachery have been discovered; the citadel of Nettuno was recovered immediately; those poisoners (*venefici*) have been executed, and these other assassins arrested; and Ascanio puts the seal to everything. We may rest quite assured that the evil they omit to do proceeds from their inability to do it, but we neglect no means. We understand that in Flanders they have practised (*praticato*) with your ambassador, and not satisfied with that they have sent an envoy* (*un huomo*) to Venice, who went first to the Duke of Ferrara, but we know that you are sage, and conversant with their tyrannical acts. When the Emperor chose to cross into Provence [A.D. 1536] we were in Venice,† and went to

* Francisco de Vargas. (See Andrea Morosini and Foreign Calendar, Index.)

† This serves to correct Magenis (page 347), who was of opinion that Giampietro Caraffa never returned to Venice after the year 1553. (See Cigogna Inscriptions, vol. 3, p. 347.)

1556.

visit Don Lopez de Soria, who was ill, as he was our friend, and we had known him when he was in the service of the Catholic King, and in his house we found Don Luis de Avila, who was sent by the "Tyrant" to the Signory to treat a defensive league,* which meant that you were to defend and secure his States, that he might go into Provence to beat the King of France, and on his return requite your merits by seizing your territory. We remember that to this proposal the Signory replied that the treaty of Bologna which they stipulated with him had been observed, and that they would continue to observe it, nor would they have any other treaty. We are of opinion that in like manner at present you will know how to regulate yourselves, nor will you trust to their promises, for the vespers of the Papal states would be the eve of your holiday; and if you think otherwise you deceive yourself, their tyranny is but too manifest; they are people who come one knows not whence (*sono genti che non si sa di che luogo*); they are endowed neither with goodness nor valour, nor any quality fitting them to rule a castle, and they lay claim to the whole world being theirs; your cities, the cities of the Church, and Rome itself, they call theirs."

The Pope then repeated what he has so often said against the Emperor, his son, and the whole Spanish nation, and he moreover again said that their procedure was rebellion, as they failed towards their prince; that he was their lord, both as Pope and master of the kingdom of Naples; and here he took a copper casket, in which he keeps the recognition made by the King of England for the investiture of the fief of the kingdom of Naples, stamped with a large golden seal, and threw it out (*la cacciò fuori*), making my secretary read it, the document purporting in short that Philip acknowledged the investiture of that kingdom from the mere grace and liberality (*dalla pura gratia e liberalità*) of the See Apostolic, naming the favours of Julius II., and saying on oath that he will always be mindful of them, and that he sends that patent (*patente*) to the most holy Paul IV., in testimony of this his recognition.

When the secretary had finished reading it the Pope said, "We have shown it to you that you may be able to bear witness to it to the Signory, and that it may be seen of what sort these traitors are. We have borne with them with very great patience, from our anxiety (*gelosia*) to justify ourselves before God and the world, including most especially my Signory of Venice, against the charge of being so martial as to wish for war unless provoked and compelled; but we have not chosen to be so inert as to remain unprovided, lest the times of Pope Clement be renewed in ours, *sunt enim assueti his prodicionibus et his vinculis*, in which case you also would fare badly. We compare the body politic (*lo stato*) to musical concord (*un' armonia*), nor can one State be touched without putting them all out of tune, and Italy is so afflicted that the dismemberment of one State, even of the small ones, would endanger the rest; so we would hazard all we have, not only for the Signory of Venice, but for any other Prince and petty Baron of Italy whatever. Until now we have never demanded a league, nor anything else of you, merely laying before

* This mission, confided by Charles V. to the historian De Avila, is not recorded by Andrea Morosini.

1556.

you the common peril, hoping indeed that, *nobis etiam latentibus*, you would perceive the opportunity for rendering service to God by defending the Church, the universal mother, freeing Italy from tyrants, and rendering yourselves glorious, as becoming your valour and goodness, and as was done by your ancestors, by which means you will profit yourselves and all your posterity. The King of France is our good son, and in truth the first-born of this See Apostolic, nor will he fail us, even should he have to come in person. You have so great a part in Italy that with one single finger you will make the scale turn on whichever side you please; should you make it go down on the good side, blessed be ye; if on the other, you will have the reward you deserve, namely, the ruin of your State. For the present we pray you to regulate yourselves well, as by doing so you assist us to establish our affairs. The Duke of Alba has sent to us the Count of S. Valentino, a relation of ours in the female line, to whom we were unable to give audience until yesterday by reason of our many occupations. He complained of these arrests made by us, but we are of a contrary opinion, for we would have done the like by the tyrants their Princes. He gave us a writing about certain frivolous matters, which we will answer expressly in due season, and cause you to receive a copy of it for transmission to the Signory, and will do the like with regard to what shall take place, so that by perceiving the course of events they may provide for their need. Our wish has been, and is, for peace, but when an enemy does what he can to injure us, though unable to accomplish it, the act must nevertheless be resented. We cannot trust them; we would rather trust the Turk. We know them, and will tell you that they bear you no better will than they do us; and rely on this, for we know the fact, they try all means to make themselves masters of Italy. They are treating with the Farneses to bring them to their allegiance; we do not know what will take place. We believe, indeed, that the spiritual and temporal interests of that family in our territory will prevent its members from stipulating the agreement." And then, having again told me to pray your Serenity to regulate yourself well, and not to lose the opportunity, the Pope dismissed me.

Rome, 1st August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

566. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The most Christian King's secretary, M. de Buecchiée (*sic*), has arrived from the French court with letters dated the 19th ult., and on Thursday afternoon he kissed his Holiness' foot, being graciously received and caressed. The Duke of Paliano told my secretary that Buichié (S. Fermo?) announces the goodwill of the King, both with regard to peace, as also his determination to assist the Pope should he be molested by the Imperialists, and that he had therefore detained the Legate [Cardinal Caraffa] until the arrival at the Imperial court of the Cardinal of Pisa, to see if any good could be effected. Yesterday Cardinal Sermoneta told my secretary that his brother wrote to him from France that the King gave the Pope a diamond worth about 12,000 crowns, and that he had it taken to Cardinal Caraffa by the

1556.

Constable, saying that as that stone was the most durable of any, so would the King's promise and determination to run one and the same chance with his Holiness be adamantine (*così la fede del Re e la volontà di correre un' istessa fortuna con Sua Santità sarà adamantina*). Cardinal Sermoneta is of opinion that Cardinal Caraffa will have left the French court immediately on hearing of the arrest of Don Garcilasso. Sermoneta also said that had Benvenuto (M. de S. Fermo)* found Cardinal Tournon here he would not have let him depart, as he brought him letters from the King and the Constable telling him to remain, they having also written to the Pope and to the Duke of Paliano to make use of Cardinal Tournon, as he was worth more than all the other ministers in his Holiness' service (*perchè valeva più, che quanti altri ministri potesse havere*). Cardinal Sermoneta added that Cardinal Tournon departed because he did not choose to assent to a rupture without the King's express commission, not choosing in this his old age that it could be said he had been the cause of the King's breaking the truce. In conclusion, the secretary having asked Cardinal Sermoneta about the affairs of the Farneses, he replied that the negotiation with the Imperialists was quite certain, and that if not concluded it would proceed from the difficulty of finding means to make the parties trust one another, and not because Cardinal Farnese was averse to it.

Rome, 1st August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1.
Original
Letter Book,
Vol. 7, III. B.,
p. 110,
Venetian
Archives.

567. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and COUNCIL of TEN.

During this day's conversation with the Pope, he told me he was "advised" from Flanders that the Emperor and the King of England had been profuse in their caresses and promises to your Ambassador, but that he answered them, that the Signory took it much amiss that their Majesties should wage war on the Pope; and his Holiness said that he thanked your Sublimity, and considered himself under an obligation to you.

Rome, 1st August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

568. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Pisa is waiting at Mezières for instructions from Cardinal Caraffa, who has sent the Gascon Captain Cencio to him to tell his right reverend Lordship to go to Lyons, from which place they will proceed together to Rome, and Caraffa says that Motula's retreat was made by order of the Duke of Paliano.

Besides the three proposals made by Caraffa to his most Christian Majesty, he has also required him to keep 10,000 Switzers; but the Legate is very doubtful about the reply, as the Constable shows himself averse to these concessions, assuring him, however, that the King will not desert the Pope, though those (chi) who have hitherto crined most haste for the war exhort him to persist in his demand.

* See post, letter dated 17th October 1556.

1556.

as the King will not allow him to depart dissatisfied. The decision will be delayed for some days to await advices from Cardinal Tournon; and in addition to this it does not seem reasonable that before he gets back his son the Constable should form any fresh resolve which might be prejudicial to him.

Paris, 2nd August 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

569. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Aug. 4.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

The Imperial ambassador [Marquis Sarria] having several times within the last few days demanded of the Pope in person leave to quit this city and withdraw to Siena by order of his Princes, he was answered that his Holiness chose this request to be made in Consistory, or else in a congregation; so last Sunday the under-written cardinals, the greater part being Imperialists, were called (*chiamati*) to dine with his Holiness, namely, Carpi, Morone, Saraceno, Savello, Pacheco, Medici, Mignanelli, Trani, Reumano,* Sermoneta, and Simoncelli, the Duke of Paliano being also with them, and the ambassador likewise. When the tables were removed and withdrawn (*levate e retire*), the Pope desired the ambassador to propose his departure, and that all the cardinals should give their opinion. All the Imperialists counselled the Pope not to let him go away, as during these present events the departure of an ambassador would be considered a matter of great importance. Sermoneta in his turn (*al luogo suo*) said that if Sarria was ordered to depart for the performance of some other mission, he approved of the aforesaid counsel, but that if the order was given for the sole purpose of removing him from Rome, he did not think it for the Pope's dignity to detain him. The Pope approved Sermoneta's opinion, and having withdrawn into his chamber with the Duke, told the ambassador alone that if he was ordered to depart for the purpose of quitting Rome without being employed on another mission, he would give him leave, although his presence was very agreeable to him (*sebene molto volentieri lo vede*), and his wish being that he should remain. The ambassador said that he took the leave, and would again inspect his commission better, in order, moreover, if not at variance with his sovereign's orders, to comply with the desire evinced by his Holiness for him to remain.

On the morrow Marquis Sarria returned to the Pope, and told him that after mature consideration of his commissions he could not do less than depart, with the good favour of his Holiness, who, having again confirmed the leave, dismissed him very graciously, and with great demonstration of remaining satisfied with his service. On hearing this I visited him before his departure. He received me joyfully. He said he will soon depart (leaving, however, his household here), as commissioned by his Princes, for Siena, awaiting there the result of present events; should they take a good turn, he would come back, and if not, he will go whither commanded; that

* Giovanni Suavio Reumano, a Gascon, made cardinal by Paul IV., 20th December 1555. (See Cardella, as before, vol. 4, p. 349.)

1556.

he could not in honour remain here, being deprived of his post office,* his letters being intercepted, and report being made to him daily of much language very unbecoming the dignity and grade (*professione*) of his masters; that nothing less became the Emperor than the epithet of "heretic," or that of "simpleton" (*lapoco*), as applied to Philip, and that these were the least abusive and defamatory words uttered against them; that the Emperor's worth, life, and character were well known to me, I having been so long a while ambassador with him,† and that he assured me on the word of a gentleman that all the paternal virtues abounded in the King his son, and that he would prove worthy of such a father; that he was slow in giving way to anger or disgust (*noia*) towards anyone, but when he formed a decision it was immutable, although it might endanger all his realms, and that he prayed God the Court of Rome might not have proof of his resolute and steady nature; that he (Sarria) yesterday spoke with the Countess, the mother of the Duke of Paliano, telling her that the Pope's obstinacy would be his death, should things go wrong, as they must, and that her son would be deprived of the duchy of Paliano, the stones, and yet more human nature, forbidding that an ancient estate should without reason be taken from its natural lords and given to others; that Cardinal Caraffa, were he to succeed the present Pope, would scarcely tolerate it, and that they ought therefore to accept the offer made them of as much and more territory in the kingdom of Naples, leaving Paliano to Marc' Antonio, thus keeping her son loyal to the Emperor, his natural sovereign, removing the cause of war, and lengthening the days of the Pope, on whom the whole fortune of her family depended; and that they should remember that the Imperialists had 15,000 infantry, the greater part well-paid veterans, and 3,000 horse, besides as many Germans as they pleased. He also told her that they ought not to have acted so disrespectfully against Garcilasso, a public minister, and that if they considered themselves wronged, they should have sent him back to his Sovereigns with the letters, requiring them to punish him, as was done heretofore by King Francis of France with regard to a Fleming, who, as ambassador from the Emperor, purposed seizing a certain fortress in his kingdom, on the borders of Picardy. Sarria also said that the Countess thanked him, saying she knew it was but too true, and that the Duke her son would accede to anything, but that the Pope was of such a nature that he could not be spoken to, and that he insisted on the Duke's retaining this dignity. To this Sarria replied that the Pope was a worthy and sage man, and were the axe laid to the root he would always listen to advice and regard it. To lay "the axe to the root" would be not to give ear to Zuan della Casa, to an Aldobrandini, and to a Bozzuto,‡ all outlaws and desperate characters.

* In a despatch dated 18th July, Navagero informed the Signory that the Pope, by a "motu proprio," had suppressed all the ambassadorial post offices in Rome.

† For an account of Badoer's embassy to the Emperor, see his "Report" made to the Senate in July 1546. (Alburi, series I., vol. 1, pp. 289-368.)

‡ By Navagero's Report of Rome, it appears that the two first-named were Florentine outlaws, who had some wild scheme of a Republic, and the Neapolitan Bozzuto purposed recovering the kingdom of Naples.

1556.

The Marquis also said: "To avoid war we offered the new Duke of Paliano as compensation an equal amount of territory, more valuable, in the kingdom of Naples, and if this did not please him to leave him Paliano provided the fortress were destroyed, or else to place the fortress in the hands either of Ferrante Sanguini or Gio. Bernardo Carbone, who are the Pope's very near relations, and in his close confidence, to make sure of its not being made over to the French. What more could be done; what more could we offer them? These terms, which were drawn up by us, the Duke of Alva did not choose to have put into writing by this agent of his, who is lodged in my house, and four days elapsed before he had audience, and God knows when he will receive the answer. They also endeavoured to disgust (*annoiare*) and make me break with Garcilasso, saying that he had used evil offices with regard to me, and showing me that part of an intercepted letter in which he wrote to the Duke of Alva, *The Emperor's affairs here are ruined, and in very little repute, or rather in none at all*; to which I replied that greater truth than this Garcilasso could not write, as I knew not whether any private Duke was ever held in less esteem than his Imperial Majesty, and for saying that I was the cause of the affairs of my Lord the Emperor being brought to this pass, I was bound to be obliged to him and to love him better than ever, as he wrote the truth."

Rome, 4th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

570. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The coming of Don Francisco de la Chaux (*Lasso*), master of the horse of the King and Queen of Bohemia, to return the compliment received by them from her Majesty through Lord Maltravers, is the cause of my writing these lines. Don Francisco came post-wise in two days from Brussels, with a handsome retinue, and was received with great honour, his Princes' embassy being accompanied by a jewelled fan richly wrought, there being inserted on one side of it a crystal mirror, and on the other a watch; a device highly artistic and of beautiful design (*cosa di bella arte et bella inventione*), perfectly suited to the season, and which being presented to her Majesty in the name of the Queen of Bohemia, seemed to give her very great pleasure. Don Francisco then added on behalf of her consort King Philip, saying he was charged thus to do by word of mouth from his Majesty in addition to what had been written by him, that as immediately on the departure of his Princes from Brussels, the Emperor purposed embarking for Spain, he the King could not do less than accompany him to Ghent, from whence he would forthwith come to her post-wise; which announcement gave zest to the embassy (*che fa, come Vostra Serenità può pensare, il condimento della ambasciata*).

Don Francisco would not remain more than two days, on one of which he came to see this city, and on the morrow took leave to depart, as he did two days ago with the same haste. I was present

1556.

at the court [at Eltham?], on his dismissal, having then gone thither to see him as an old friend of mine, and performing such offices as due in the Signory's name. The Queen gave him three holograph letters, two of which were for his King and Queen and the third for her Consort; and as a mark of great honour had him accompanied by the whole Royal Council as far as the last gate of the palace, and then as usual sending to his lodging a present for him, though the particulars of it are unknown.

At the time of his entry, the Queen hearing that I was at the court sent for me. I congratulated her on her well-being and on the King's speedy return. With regard to the King's return, the Queen answered me that everybody besides Don Francisco announced it to her; and then spontaneously, she began asking me about your Serenity's creation, showing that it had greatly rejoiced her, owing to information received of your merits and qualities, having also, as she herself remarked with satisfaction, understood that you were of the family and kindred of Monsignor Luigi Priuli, who, on account of the most illustrious the Legate, is known and beloved by her Majesty, who before I took leave desired me twice to greet your Serenity affectionately in her name. To say the truth the Queen's face has lost flesh greatly (*dul volto grandemente diminuito di carne*) since I was last with her, the extreme need she has of her Consort's presence harassing her, as told me, she having also within the last few days in great part lost her sleep.

In a long conversation held with me by the *aforesaid* Don Francisco, I clearly comprehend the design (*mira*) of his Princes on this kingdom, by reason of some hope and intention (*per qualche intentione e speranza*) given them, as evident to me from his language, of the marriage of the Archduke Ferdinand* to this "Isabella," though he would not be too communicative (*benchè non volesse andar troppo oltre*), which I think it fit for your Serenity to know, although as yet on this side (*dalla parte di qua*) there is not the slightest suspicion of it.

On the same day the Admiral arrived at the court [William Lord Howard of Effingham], who, according to his own belief, as he told me, was sent for to give orders for the ships now at Portsmouth to put back towards Dover, to be ready for the King's passage. He also informed me that of the captured pirates, 40 were hanged last week, between the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth harbour, besides a few here in London; some of the ringleaders remaining, their punishment being delayed for the purpose of examining them better. It is understood that this Channel and the whole of the coast of Normandy is so frequently infested (*visitato*) by other pirates, that to prevent the losses daily incurred by the Londoners, some of the wealthiest aldermen here have provided a considerable sum of money, so that besides the provision made by the government, they may be yet more vigorously pursued and destroyed.

* In the month of August 1556, Ferdinand of Austria, King of the Romans, had three sons, namely, Maximilian, King of Bohemia, Ferdinand, born in 1529, and Charles, born in 1540; the two last, at various periods, were both proposed as consorts for Elizabeth Tudor.

1556.

Having written thus far an express from the King at Brussels brought the distressing news of the death of Lord Maltravers. He was a young man 22 years of age, of most handsome presence and no less virtuous, nor was there anyone in England of greater promise. He was the only son of the Lord Steward the Earl of Arundel, one of the chief noblemen in the kingdom, to whom there now remain but two daughters, already married,* and although he is of vigorous age (*di fresca età*), his wife nevertheless, being infirm, cannot give him hope of having other children; so on his demise this ancient and most noble family will become extinct, which adds immeasurably to the universal regret. In his letter to Cardinal Pole, King Philip charges him, until his Majesty shall despatch a gentleman express for the purpose, to impart the news to the unfortunate parent, offering him such Christian remedies and consolation as no one else would know how to administer, though as yet they have taken but little effect on him. The confirmation contained in this same letter, of his Majesty's return hither on the Emperor's departure, should it not entirely relieve the Queen's sorrow for this death, will in great part mitigate what would otherwise have been insufferable. The King also complains to Cardinal Pole of the recal of the Legate the Cardinal of Pisa [Scipione Rebiba]†, saying he had sent the Prince of Ascoli and Count Chinchon as far as Maastricht to meet him, having made preparation to receive and treat him with such honour as becoming. Again requests his own recall.

London, 4th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

571. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Before the King departed hence, the Constable sent for the Cavalier Tiburcio, the Duke of Parma's agent, and told him that his most Christian Majesty had received advices to the effect that the aforesaid Duke was treating some agreement with the Imperialists, who had offered him Piacenza, they retaining the castle, if he would withdraw from the service of this Crown. This greatly perplexed the King, as if the Duke continued bearing his Majesty the same good will, he ought to have communicated to him the offers he had received, and not allow them to be made known to his Majesty by others. The Cavalier replied that, as he knew the mind of his Prince, he could assure his Excellency that he would never negotiate anything without imparting it to his most Christian Majesty. Then next day the said Cavalier received a courier from the Duke, telling him that an Imperialist being a prisoner in Parma, some one who went thither to negotiate his ransom, proposed to his Excellency, in the name of the King of England, that if he would leave the service of his most Christian Majesty, the said King would give him Piacenza; which he charged the cavalier to com-

* Joanna, to John Lord Lumley, and Mary, to Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk.

† He was transferred from the see of Motula in Puglia to Pisa on the 10th April 1556. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 348.)

1556.

municate to the Constable. Then his Excellency introducing him to his most Christian Majesty, he made the same statement, adding that as the Duke would never do anything to the King's disservice, so he requested his Majesty to remember that he had frequently said that whenever his Excellency could get back Piacenza it would gratify him. The King replied that he had always known his Duke's good will, and remembered having expressed to him this wish for the restitution of Piacenza; but in these times, when there was no certainty either of peace or truce, he would do well to consider how he ought to negotiate, because should the King of England now choose to give him Piacenza, it would be to alienate the Duke from his most Christian Majesty's service, and therefore he had determined to send M. Forcevoe (sic) to Parma to hear the truth from the duke himself.

On the day of the King's departure he had a long conference with the Constable and the Legate. The King said he would not desert his Holiness, but that at this moment there was no fear of the Imperialists doing anything of importance by reason of their great penury (*grande strettezza*), but as the Pope laid so much stress on being compelled to keep a certain amount of troops in Rome, he would contribute a pecuniary subsidy for some part of them. This did not seem to satisfy the Legate, and afterwards, in conversation with other persons, he said openly that unless his most Christian Majesty formed some other resolve, it might be feared that the Pope would think of adjusting his affairs in the mode best suited to their security.

Paris, 5th August 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Aug. 8.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

572. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ascanio della Cornia is at Naples, and a captain sent by the Duke of Alva to Germany with money for a levy of 4,000 men has arrived at Genoa. The Duke's despatch (*scrittura*), brought to the Pope by Count Valentino, is being answered by Monsignor della Casa, by Bozzuto, and by Aldobrandini, with the advice of the Duke of Paliano and Camillo Orsini. The Pope will settle all these drafts, and is expected to add much of his own, and then send it to the Duke in reply to his writing, of which I enclose a copy.*

In the Congregation held on Sunday, after Marquis Sarria withdrew, the Pope abused the Emperor and his son violently, in Spanish, in the terms usually employed by him, ordering Cardinal Pacheco to write it to both one and the other, which the Cardinal said he would do, such being the will of his Holiness.

To clear himself from any suspicion about Don Alonso, the Duke of Ferrara has desired his ambassador here to tell the Pope and the Duke of Paliano that he had him accompanied by one of his gentle-

* Not found.

1556.

men to your Serenity, he having brought him very gracious letters from the King of England, reminding him of the good treatment received from King Philip's ancestors by Duke Alfonso,* and saying that although he was reported to have leagued with the Pope and the French, and to be their captain general, the King of England did not believe he would do anything to injure the Emperor and him. To this the Duke of Ferrara replied that he had been and was anxious for universal peace and quiet, above all for Italy, which as a good Italian would never cease to be his object, adding that if he caused Don Alonso to be accompanied to Venice, it was on account of the suspicion (*per causa del sospetto*), and to avoid omission of such courtesy as was becoming. All has been taken in good part here, and the Ferrarese ambassador told my secretary that the Duke of Paliano said to him he supposed Don Alonso went (as already hinted by the Pope) to demand of your Serenity a league.

The Imperial ambassador [Marquis Sarria] left Rome yesterday. Rome, 8th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 9.†
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

573. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday afternoon, at 4h. 30m. p.m., the Emperor departed for Ghent, being accompanied by his son for the distance of one league beyond the town, with a few personages of the courts, and the archer-guard, amounting in all to about two hundred horse. Shortly before his Imperial Majesty's departure, there came to take leave of him his natural uncle the Bishop of Liège, and the other bishops of these provinces, and many of these noblemen, and of the principal citizens of the neighbouring towns, good part of whom, on returning from the presence chamber, were seen to shed tears, the Emperor always exhibiting a serene countenance, until on going out of the gate of the town he was seen to weep bitterly, turning back repeatedly to look at the walls. The Queens Eleanor and Maria will leave this in two days, and one or two days afterwards the King of Spain, with the whole court, and the ambassadors, including myself, will proceed to Ghent. The King is supposed to have remained here after the Emperor, because three of the six privy-councillors are in bed with fever, namely, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Don Juan Manrique, and Don Antonio de Toledo; and especially that he may have their opinion about the decision to be formed respecting the Duke of Parma, there having come hither Girolamo da Correggio, who nevertheless gives out that he has come on his own private business, and to oblige the Cardinal of Trent, having to tell the King several things relating to the Milanese. The Bishop of Arras has asked the King's permission to stay here, and has obtained it, and will remain about the person of

* In 1512 Ferdinand the Catholic protected Duke Alfonso against Julius II. See Frizzi, vol. 4, p. 254.)

† I have been unable to find any despatches written by Federico Badoer from Flanders between the 30th July and the 9th August 1556, after which last date there is again a void in the correspondence until the 25th August 1556.

1556.

the Duke of Savoy (*presso il Duca di Savoia*) as counsellor of these provinces, with an annual salary of 2,500 crowns; and by the Emperor's command (*voler*), the King three days ago elected in his stead Don Luis de Avila; and the Regent Figueroa is expected from England; so that all the six councillors will be Spaniards.

It has been impossible to induce the deputies of these Provinces to give the King a million and a half of gold, and they have been told that if they will not make the grant whilst he is here they must go to Ghent, where, owing to the Emperor's departure, they are expected more willingly to give this subsidy to his son, who has been counselled thus to order them (*e così ho inteso esser stato consigliato di farli venir a Gant*). It has also been resolved that it is well for the Emperor to go to Spain now rather than at any other time, as this departure will benefit all the affairs of his son; the councillors being of opinion that the Pope and the King of France will be less ill-disposed towards King Philip than towards his Imperial Majesty.

It is said that the courier who departed for Italy this evening conveys notice by letter to all the Princes and ministers, as also to the Princes and States of Germany, of the Emperor's departure.

Brussels, 9th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

574. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Was visited to-day by the Count of S. Valentino, who said he had been desired by the Duke of Alva to communicate the three mandates (*istruzioni*) which he received on leaving Naples. The first alluded to the Count personally, and desired him to lodge in the ambassador's house. The second charged him to acquaint the cardinals and ambassadors with what he was desired to represent to the Pope, telling him besides that if his audience was delayed he was to depart. It also ordered him to demonstrate that the fortification of Paliano had solely for object to give the French passage into the kingdom of Naples. The third was to the effect that should the Pope answer him, that when Paul III. deprived Ascanio Colonna of his state no war was waged on that account, he was to rejoin that Paul III. contented himself with depriving Ascanio; nor did he invest anyone with his estate, neither did he fortify it. After reading these writings and instructions, Count St. Valentino continued: "I have been to the cardinals, as enjoined me, and to the French ambassador, who answered me that his King wishes for peace, but that, should the Pope be molested, he will not fail to succour him with the forces of his kingdom and with his own personal assistance; as if he purposed aiding the Pope, in case we be compelled to resent the many injuries he has done us and to defend ourselves (*come se quando fossamo astretti a propulzare le molte ingiurie del Pont° e difenderci, esso lo volesse aiutare*). Should the Duke of Alva, who is a minister of peace, be compelled by the receipt of orders from his court to advance, it will be because they can no longer tolerate the Pope's misconduct (*mali portamenti*).

1555.

He sent me hither with orders to make this communication to the cardinals and ambassadors, amongst which last the first was your lordship, as ambassador of a republic most friendly (*affettionatissima*) to the Emperor. I must now go to the Pope, and try to depart to-day or to-morrow; nor ought I to have remained so many days, having heard that he is sending the reply by an envoy of his own."

In conclusion Count St. Valentino said, "What answer am I to give the Duke of Alva in your name?" to which I said that I could assure him of the Signory's good will towards the Emperor and the King of England, telling him also that the continuance of peace and quiet will always be the chief end and object of your Serenity.

Rome, 10th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

575. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His most Christian Majesty will not fail to do what the Pope needs for the defence of Holy Church and of his family; and therefore having heard the four proposals made by him, requiring that a deposit of 500,000 crowns be placed at his disposal, that 300 men-at-arms be sent into Italy, and twelve galleys to Civitavecchia, 10,000 Switzers being also kept in readiness, although his Majesty wished to satisfy his Holiness, yet the season having approached so far towards the winter, the proposal could not be carried into effect at present, but he nevertheless on a better opportunity would not fail (non era per mancare); and as he knew the Pope to have need of money for the garrison of Rome, he would give orders for the contribution of some part, and also promised him to pay the troops required for the garrison of Paliano, as he does those at Parma and Mirandola, promising the Duke of Paliano an annual pension of 12,000 crowns, and 6,000 to Don Antonio Caraffa.

By the hand of the Constable his most Christian Majesty presented to the Legate a diamond, estimated at 12,000 crowns, to give to the Pope, telling him that in like manner as that stone is the hardest and purest of all jewels, so will his most Christian Majesty's mind be always most firm (*durissimo*) and most pure for the defence of Holy Church and of his Beatitude.

So far as I have been able to learn, these are the determinations obtained by the Legate from his most Christian Majesty, who, convinced that Caraffa was bent on inducing him to wage offensive war, to which at present he would not consent, whilst comprehending the affection displayed by his Holiness towards the French crown, and the advantage to be derived from the Pope and his family in case of need (con la occasione), has endeavoured to provide practically for his Holiness' defence, giving him the largest promises possible, purposing to avail himself of time and opportunities; and being very intent on strengthening his party in Consistory for the creation of a new pope in due season, he has earnestly

1566.

urged the Legate to induce the Pope to make, for the most part, cardinals of the French faction, as it answers better for his Majesty to have a good number of cardinals resident in Rome, rather than French who do not stay there, and if they do it is an expense for the King (*è un interesse di Sua Maestà Christ.^{ma}*); and he had such abundant (large) promises from the Legate that he hopes for the creation of a good number of them.

The Imperial ambassador here has had letters from the Emperor dated the 7th, telling him that on the 8th his Imperial Majesty was to depart for Ghent, and desiring him to let the King of France know that, intending to go to Spain by sea, he had therefore caused some of his hackneys and mules to be sent [overland to Laredo?], which he thought might pass without asking for any farther safe-conduct, in virtue of the truce he had; but as his most Christian Majesty is still at a distance from Paris, the ambassador has been unable to execute this commission. The Constable's son, the Duke of Montmorency, late a prisoner, was expected to arrive yesterday in freedom at Peronne.

Paris, 13th August 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

576. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since what I wrote yesterday about the despatch of the Legate I had an opportunity of speaking with a friend of mine, who, from his position, being interested in these negotiations, is therefore much in the confidence of the Legate, and having had a long conversation with him lately at Anet about the decision announced to his right reverend Lordship, I learn from my friend that it agrees with what I wrote, purporting besides that the most Christian King would demand passage from your Serenity for the troops which he purposes sending into Italy, should circumstances require it; and to keep the enemy in doubt of what road they may take, he would also make the same demand of the Duke of Mantua, and send an agent to the Switzers that they may be in readiness; but all the arguments used by him to persuade the King that offensive war would not cost more than to stand upon the defensive, failed to take effect, nor would his most Christian Majesty and the Constable comply with the wishes of Curajfa, who, however, thought he might feel sure that in case the Imperialists molest the Pope his Majesty would defend him with all his forces, which being at so great a distance the Legate demonstrated that they could scarcely arrive in time for the Pope's need, should the King of England choose to attack him; the Cardinal thus showing that he was not altogether well pleased.

The Queen of Scotland is rather better, as also the Legate's nephew, his most illustrious Lordship being expected here this evening.

Paris, 14th August 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

The first of these is the fact that the
 system is not a simple one, but a
 complex one, involving many factors
 which are not yet fully understood.

The second is the fact that the
 system is not a simple one, but a
 complex one, involving many factors
 which are not yet fully understood.

The third is the fact that the
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The eleventh is the fact that the
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 complex one, involving many factors
 which are not yet fully understood.

1556.

Aug. 15.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

577. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Wednesday night Messer Domenico del Nero, one of the hundred cavaliers, departed with the reply to the Duke of Alva, the substance of which had been communicated to the Count of St. Valentino, who also left that same day.

A few days ago, at table, the Pope, talking with the Roman cavaliers, said, "Don't suppose that although we are having Borgo fortified, we mean to defend you within these walls; we shall take the field with our army, and should those fellows (*coloro*) cross their frontiers, by so much as the distance of this tooth-pick"—placing on the table the tooth-pick with which he was picking his teeth—"we will give it them boldly (*daremo dentro animosamente*), for we shall have forces to do it, and God will help us."

The eight French galleys which brought the Gascons to Civita-vecchia went to Corsica, and have returned with some more, amongst whom are a number of gentlemen under M. de Mola (*sic*). They were mustered at a distance of some 20 miles from Rome, and are said to be 1,800, though it is believed that they do not exceed 1,200. The government (*questi signori*) has not yet settled where to put them, though it is said that some will go to Viterbo, but in the places where they have been quartered hitherto they have done very great mischief.

A secretary of Duke Ottavio (Farnese), by name Giovan Domenico degli Orsi, has arrived here. He is come to give account that what was said about Piacenza has taken no further effect, although the Emperor has frequently had it told to the Duke his son-in-law, who knows that he ought to do as desired; and that he (Duke Ottavio) will do nothing without the knowledge and good pleasure of the Pope and the King of France.

The Duke of Florence has apologized through his ambassador here to the Pope and the Duke of Paliano for allowing the Duke of Alva to raise troops in Tuscany, by reason of his obligations to the Emperor and the King of England.

Rome, 15th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15.
(Second Letter.)

p. 272.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

578. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

[The Pope threatens to deprive King Philip of his crown.]

Having sent yesterday to ask audience of the Pope, he excused himself by reason of his intention to say mass on the morrow, but said that I was to go to him to-day immediately after dinner, when he would willingly hear me. I went at the appointed hour, and found him at the end of dinner, and it fell to my lot to give him the napkin with which to dry his hands,* whereupon he immediately rose without giving audience at table as usual; and having

* "Da scingar le mani." At the papal court at this period forks were not in use, and as in their stead the Pope used his fingers, the napkin was presented for use, and not as a mere act of ceremony.

1556.

made me enter the chamber with him, after apologizing for not having given me audience yesterday, to which I replied that I merely sought his convenience, he said, "We have but little to tell you, save that fresh acts of treachery on the part of those people (*di costoro*) are brought to light daily;" and his Holiness, leaning with one arm on the ledge of a small kneeling-desk, said, "Things are in such a state that they can no longer be tolerated; those two" (alluding to the Emperor and the King of France) "were first at strife with each other about private affairs, and for our misfortune, or rather owing to the inertness (*lappocaggine*) of our predecessors, they have become so powerful that they now fight for universal monarchy. Their ambition is such that it makes them aspire to sole empire, most especially the Imperialists, who perceive that they cannot remain thus, as they must either do the rest or succumb, so by various means they have endeavoured to make themselves masters of everything by promising the King of Bohemia to make him King of Tuscany. Think how the Duke of Florence would fare. He is endeavouring to make Philip coadjutor of the Empire; to encourage heresy by attending their diets and councils, to depress this See Apostolic, and make themselves masters of Rome, and then of your State, which they say belongs to them; and we remember having said in your defence that not only were the inhabitants of the lagoon (*lacuna*) in which Venice is situated named '*Veneti*,' but also those of the whole province; wherefore it became the most illustrious Signory to rule them. On account of his wicked proceedings we renounced his friendship, nor could we ever bear him. The tyrant knows well what we did when we were Cardinal; and now that God has placed us in this See, without our seeking it, we are compelled to preserve it or sacrifice our life, which for His glory we do not the least value, and His Divine goodness knows that to-day, at that sacred altar, of which of His mercy he has made us worthy, we renounced to Him the Popedom and our life, and when it shall please Him we will quit this world willingly, but so long as we remain here we choose to preserve intact that authority which He has given us, so as to die an honest man (*huomo da bene*). Now, as we said, these Imperialists would fain make themselves masters of everything, because they see that they cannot last long in their present state. The King of France, on the other hand, has not so much cause to covet his neighbour's goods, as he has a large united kingdom, walled round by nature, and by the present King's care; he knows that he can defend himself from all adversaries. He has an understanding in Germany, where his authority exceeds that of the Emperor, and he has moreover shown that he has forces for attack, as demonstrated of late years, and as would have been evident much sooner had King Francis allowed him to give battle when Charles invaded France, in which case the name of this tyrant would perhaps no longer exist. This security and greatness of France causes the King to be content with repelling attack and keeping his adversary beneath, that he may not make himself greater; so we may say that we have two sons, the one Cain and the other Abel, for in truth the King of France could not show greater obedience and love than he does; he not only promises not

1556.

to fail in his duty to assist us, but for our sake he christened his lately born daughter Vittoria, which was the name of our mother; and his great love for us makes him detain the Cardinal, though we hope he will soon obtain leave to return, and from him we shall learn the entire decision about what is to be done. There is no longer any occasion to wait for proof of the evil intentions of the Imperialists (*li costoro*), as fresh acts of treachery are discovered daily. We know that a person has been sent to Venice to procure the most deadly poison (*per pigliare veneno finissimo*), and other plots of theirs are known to us. Even the Legate [Rebiba], whom we sent about the peace, has been obliged to make his escape, as he heard that they purposed imprisoning him. When near the court he sent to have lodgings prepared by one of his attendants, whose diligence was such that he discovered this their iniquitous design, and announced it to the Cardinal, who changed his course, and we understand that he is now in a place of security. As we told you heretofore, we have put up with so much malignity that they now deserve reproof (*ripreensione*), were it solely to prevent its being said that we were the first (*solo per rispetto che non si possa dire che siamo stati i primi*); nor do we see any form of adjustment, for we would not trust them even with security in hand. They thought to anticipate us, but we have been more speedy. Should they increase their forces, we will do the like by ours; if they purpose coming hither, we also shall think of entering the kingdom of Naples. If not content with having tyrannically devastated (*desolato*) the kingdom of Naples, the Milanese, and Lombardy, and after sacking Rome, what would they do with the rest? They think that God sleepeth; *non dormit, neque dormitabit qui custodit Israel*. The Almighty will no longer permit that *teneant virgam super sortem justorum*. We will unsheath all the spiritual weapons; we will deprive them of their empires, realms, and states; we will treat them as the enemies of God, which they are, and those who adhere to them; we will proclaim a crusade of all Christians against them, against schismatics and heretics, and shall ascertain for ourselves who chooses to be a Christian; and possibly the apostasy of that nation from the faith may afford a fair opportunity for depriving it of the election of the Empire, as Greece was deprived of yore, and enable us to bestow the right on those whom we shall know to be deserving of it. Should they drive us out of Rome, we will go to some island, there to continue exercising our authority; we will convoke a Council, limited to a fixed number for each side (*a tanti per parte*); those who are Christians will attend it, and such as are Turks and Pagans may absent themselves. We care not about them (*non habbiamo cura di loro*), and who knows but that God the blessed may choose, as the penalty of his wicked acts, to show the tyrant in his lifetime the destruction of his accursed race (*la desolazione della maledetta sua stirpe*). We hope not to be so old as not to witness it." And then, slapping his thighs with both his hands (*e poi battendosi le mani alle coscie*), and raising his eyes aloft, he said very violently, "It is impossible for us not to be ashamed of any longer tolerating such impious tyranny at the hands of the

1556.

vilest nation, or rather of the dregs, of the world (*dij, talem terris aversite pestem*); and will no truly free spirit arise to prefer death to such hard servitude?"

After a short pause he then added, "Ambassador, with you we proceed very discreetly (*con molta modestia*); we do not ask of you a league, or anything else, but that you should regulate yourselves well, and not make some gross mistake (*qualche marrone*), as it would be your ruin. The Imperialists (*costoro*) have recourse to all means, even to the most insignificant petty Princes and Lords, and not merely to the most illustrious Signory and the Duke of Ferrara." Considering this an opportunity for communicating to him the reply made to Don Martin Alonso, in conformity with the orders given me by the Senate, I announced it accordingly. The Pope answered me, "It does well (*sta bene*); it is a prudent reply, for those Lords do not bind themselves to anything. Write to them to keep prepared, that they may be able to do in due time what God will instruct them; but to use worldly arguments with you, is it for the interest of the two States, leaving aside religion, the duty of Christians, and our friendship for the Signory, does it suit you that this State should be ruined? Were we a nobleman of your Senate we should put the same question. Is it for your profit that we should be conquered? Will it be for your service that we should be at war whilst you look on, to see whether, after our downfall, you can remain in safety and enjoy your own? We would recommend you to hang out a carpet, and place a cushion on one of your balconies on the Grand Canal, and that you may stay at your ease, to see who is passing and what is doing (*e che comodamente stesse a vedere chi passa, e quel che si fa*) and should the Pope ask your assistance, that he be told to give it himself; but if after our ruin yours necessarily ensues, by God you must think what you have to do. If you choose to put the rope round your neck, without waiting for them to perform the office, and to go and beg pardon, do so, as you will meet with the same mercy that you did the year of Prevesa (*l'anno della Prevesa*)*, when you were unable to get the wheat which at exorbitant cost they had promised you, so that your city was on the point of being famished. We are, as we have always told you, and thou, O God, knowest it, always desirous of peace;" which opportunity I would not allow to escape me, and therefore replied, "The Almighty, who has this peace so much at heart, knowing the will of your Holiness, will bring it to pass, to your Beatitude's immortal praise, to the infinite contentment of the whole world, and principally of the most illustrious Signory." He rejoined, "God grant it, but matters are now so far advanced that we cannot remain thus. We cannot say as of yore on St. Mark's one of your Doges said, having the French ambassador on one hand and the Spaniard on the other (one illuminating for a certain victory and the other lamenting it), (*gaudere cum gaudentibus et flere cum flentibus*, for at present everything is at

* The attack on Prevesa in the year 1538 is recorded by the historian Paruta, who also alludes to the refusal of the Imperial governors in Naples and Sicily to concede to the Republic the promised export, permits for grain.

1556.

stake. As we have already told you, we treat you with all discretion; we do not ask a league of you, nor that you should do one thing more than another, though matters are perhaps now coming to such a crisis that they can scarcely be borne any longer; keep at least prepared. We know that you are a Republic, which cannot decide like one sole and absolute Prince; yet do we choose to believe that in time you will open your eyes to your welfare, for to tell you the truth we choose to ascertain this. As the Imperialists (*costoro*) attack us without any cause, solely because we oppose that universal monarchy on which they have set their minds,—nor will we be their slaves like former pontiffs,—we will wage war on them like a brave man (*da luomo da bene*), and let the loss be what it may, we will cease to draw breath before our courage fails us. It might be said, *Thou canst not*. Christ can, through whom I am God's minister. *Go to a hermitage, and make way for one more worthy than thyself.*"

The Pope having then stopped, I asked him if he had sent the reply to the Duke of Alva. He said yes, but that it was immaterial, being sent to a minister who had not authority, and was only capable of doing mischief; his Holiness adding that he had given orders for me to receive a copy both of the proposal and the reply, but that the illness of his nephew, the Duke of Paliano, caused the delay, and that if it did not inconvenience me to wait I should receive it now, as he was going to visit him. I replied that if his Holiness would allow me to accompany him, that I also might visit his Excellency, he would confer a special favour on me. The Pope rejoined, "As you wish to confer this favour on one of your noblemen, let us go;" so having descended a private stair, we found the Duke, who, after receiving the Papal benediction and a kiss from his Holiness, said that he had had a tertian ague (*una terzanella*), that nature had effected a copious crisis (*un crisi abbondante*), the physicians also having bled him, so he hoped not to take any hurt. I performed such loving office as was becoming, saying I was glad to have seen him, as it enabled me to announce to your Serenity his convalescence; and then the Pope, after many honourable expressions about your Serenity, and his paternal love and esteem for the most illustrious Republic, desired the Duke to give me the enclosed copies of the writings;* and his Holiness, after repeating the provocations received from the Imperialists, his own patience, his wish for peace, and many other things in accordance with what I have so often written, dismissed me, I having previously (as desired by the Senate) congratulated him on the recovery of the citadel of Nettuno.

Rome, 15th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

579. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday I went to visit the Legate. He commenced a long discourse about the plots formed by the Imperialists against his

* Not found.

1556.

Holiness, saying that, as he told the Abbot of San Saluto yesterday morning, his Holiness (if the Emperor and his most serene son showed themselves really anxious for peace), could he find means for making sure of their goodwill, would return to his original purpose, and show himself desirous of the quiet of Christendom; and he had elected six right reverend cardinals, who, together with all the ambassadors, were charged to discover this mode of security; five of them being of the Imperial faction, and the Cardinal de Bellai alone of the French party; wherefore should his most Christian Majesty choose to drive a hard bargain, he might complain of this, as although the decision about the proposals rested with his Holiness, yet could he not be pronounced an Imperialist for adhering to what five cardinals his delegates counselled him. He added that in the Pope's name he had made four proposals to the most Christian King; the first about the Council, the second concerning the peace, as he had already informed me; and that the reply then given by his Majesty by word of mouth was now made in writing also, and will be read in Consistory.

The other two proposals related, the one to the adjustment of the affairs of the benefices of this kingdom, which were all arranged, and the other to the appointment of an inquisitor against the heretics; to which the King replied that he quite approved of this, but being of opinion that one alone could not suffice for so vast a territory, he thought it would be well to name one for each bishopric, and that he should be a native, which his right reverend Lordship said he hoped the Pope would admit. He added he had found similar goodwill in his Majesty for the defence of Holy Church, for which he had offered him all the forces of his kingdom, together with his own person; and *also touching the defence of the Caraffa family, having taken it under his protection, the King promised him to defend it. Here the Legate expatiated at great length on the reasons which had induced the Pope to invest the Duke of Paliano with that state, saying that as his Holiness would not alienate Church property to give it to his kinsfolk, so if he gave them that of rebels, no one ought to take it amiss.*

The Legate also said, "Should the Emperor not molest us, we on our part will make no farther stir, but if he moves he will meet with opposition of a different sort to what is anticipated by him, and to tell you the whole, he does not fail disturbing every thing, having even endeavoured to detach the Duke of Ferrara from his most Christian Majesty, but he still keeps faith, though he misbehaves himself by not settling his affairs completely with the King. He no longer demands infantry, but that his salary (provisione) be increased from 24,000 crowns to 50,000, and the men-at-arms; and by the Duke's ambassador the King sent to tell him that he will give him the 50,000 crowns, leaving him at liberty to keep the men-at-arms or not. I do not know whether the Duke will accept these terms, although I sent him one of my gentlemen to urge many reasons for his acceding to the agreement, which if not made before my return to Rome, I shall endeavour to conclude by making the

1556.

Pope contribute something of his own, as these Imperialists must at any rate know with whom they have to deal."

Morette, 17th August 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 18.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

580. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Will not deviate from my usual custom of writing every week.

In the very place where the [false] proclamation of the Queen's death was made* (*nel luogo proprio dove fu fatta la publicatione del proclama che la Regina fusse morta*); two of its chief authors were hanged,† including the parish priest there, and both died with great demonstration of repentance and acknowledgment of their error, confessing that they had fallen into it from their bad opinions about religion. The others, as many as 12 in number, have been brought hither to the Tower.

The brother of the pirate Killigrew, and six or eight of his chief comrades, have also been removed from Portsmouth to the Tower, where some persons pretend they have been tortured (*tormentati*), and on their account certain prisoners who had their liberty in the Tower have been confined. Killigrew's father, who is a wealthy gentleman, has offered to pay all those who have suffered loss from him, hoping thus more easily to obtain his pardon, though it is not believed that this will profit him much.

The Queen has been unwell lately, both from the great heat, the like of which no one remembers, as likewise owing to some mental vexation (*qualche dispiacer di animo*), and not having yet quite recovered, she has chosen to change her residence, and to-day went eight miles hence to Croydon to a house of the most illustrious the Legate.

The day before yesterday that Spanish gentleman whom the King said he would send, arrived express, and was sent back with the same haste. He confirmed the King's coming after the departure of the Emperor; so the Earl of Pembroke has been appointed to go and receive him at Calais, Lord Paget at Dover, and Cardinal Pole here at Canterbury (*et Illustrissimo Legato di qua a Canterbury*); but nothing has been yet settled about his right reverend Lordship, although he solicits and desires it in order that he may have to remain at his Church. The immediate despatch of this gentleman, who during the two days of his stay had several long conferences with the Queen together with Don [Juan de] Figueroa, (her Majesty on Sunday, the day of his arrival, that she might attend to his despatch, having omitted to go to vespers in the chapel, which she is not wont to do without some great impediment,)

* This shows that a letter written by the ambassador on the 11th August is missing. The place here mentioned seems to be Yaxley in Sussex, where one Cleobury personated the Earl of Devon, and in the church there proclaimed "the Lady Elizabeth Queen, and her beloved bed-fellow, Lord Edward Courtenay, King." (See Lingard, vol. v. p. 246, ed. London, 1854.)

† Cleobury was executed at Bury in September 1556. (See Strickland's Elizabeth, p. 117.)

1556.

has caused a belief that he has been sent on business, rather than for this mere mission about the King's return; but nothing further can be ascertained about this.

London, 18th August 1556.

Postscript.—I am informed that the Lord Treasurer has been sent for, to make arrangements (it is supposed) either at Dover or Portsmouth, where the Emperor is expected, the Queen intending by all means, if possible, to see his Imperial Majesty there.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20.*
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

581. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Relative to the warlike preparations of the Imperialists and of the Duke of Paliano, and to the fortification of Rome.

Rome, 20th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

582. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal de' Medici told my secretary that in the penultimate Consistory, the Pope having asked him what he thought of the affair of Ascanio della Cornia, he replied, "Ill, Holy Father, and I suspect that each day will bring us worse tidings, should those disturbances continue;" and when the Pope said that he had a number of soldiers and good troops, the Cardinal replied that his Holiness must neither rely on them nor allow them to take the field, as they would be routed by the mere sight of the enemy, for that since the coming of Charles (VIII. ?) into Italy, never had an army, composed exclusively of Italians, been seen to gain one single battle, because they know not how to use the pike; and as the Imperialists have much foreign infantry, both German and Spanish, and 800 men-at-arms, and 2,000 light horse, whilst his Holiness has a bare 500 very sorry jades, he therefore lacked the means for resisting the enemy in the field; and consequently of the three faculties of war (*le tre parti c'ha la guerra*), namely, attack, resistance, and to remain reciprocally on the defensive, the two first were denied him, as with the troops he has, his Holiness cannot invade the kingdom of Naples without the certainty of their being cut to pieces; and should the Imperialists choose to advance, he could not prevent them from being masters of the open country, and consequently of the defenceless towns, such as the majority of those in the papal territory; whilst the third resource, of remaining mutually on the defensive, was no less injurious to his Holiness than the other two, as he would be compelled to incur intolerable cost; whilst the Imperialists can hold their own with the troops paid by them even in time of peace. To this the Pope said, "What would you have me do if these heretical tyrants compel me to act thus?" The Cardinal rejoined, "Holy Father! I would that an agreement were negotiated, and that your Holiness should make

* No date in the original, but the letter is placed between those of the 15th and 22nd August.

1556.

some slight concession (*li mettesse un poco del suo*), to prevent such great and universal mischief." Thereupon the Pope said, "And should this ensue, shall I be the cause of it?" Cardinal Medici replied, "When a person can provide, and does not do so, I know not what to say; I should indeed regret to have it recorded by historians, that in the reign of your Holiness, a Pope of such exemplary life, a war and schism broke out, such as had not happened in the time of popes, who, to say the truth, led foul and evil lives (*pontefici di mala e sporca vita*)."

On hearing this his Holiness could no longer contain himself, and said, "You have this day caused me dissatisfaction, but these words do not proceed from you; the tyrants are those who make you utter them; but we will deprive them of their realms and empires as schismatics." Cardinal Medici made answer that he would neither affirm nor deny that the Emperor was schismatic, though he indeed would say that this privation might bring it to pass, that instead of one schismatic kingdom, all the Emperor's realms might become so, they forming two thirds of Christendom, and that it does not suffice to deprive, as in the next place force is required to effect the privation. The Pope in a great rage then said, "You also are schismatic; speak out (*dite sù*), if you have anything to say against me." Cardinal Medici replied that, perceiving the Pope to be too angry, he would say nothing more, but that should his Holiness choose to listen, he will always tell him the truth in his own chamber, as he is neither a flatterer, nor interested, like the persons about his Holiness. He then went and sat down; and says he fully expected to be sent to the castle, as the Pope never took his eyes off him.

When consistory was dismissed, Cardinal Medici went to the Duke of Paliano, and narrated to him what the Pope had said, requesting his Excellency to represent to the Pope that, if he did not choose him to speak freely for the common weal, for that of the See Apostolic, and especially for that of the Caraffa family, that his Holiness should be pleased to assign him a residence, and that he would obey readily. To this the Duke of Paliano replied, that rather than be the cause of so many inconveniences, he would prefer being deprived of the duchy, and even of his life. Thereupon Cardinal Medici said, "My lord, you are to be a duke; it remains for determination whether the duchy is to be this of Paliano, if possible; and if not, to exchange it for Camerino; and I promise you to make the college consent to this, and that we will give it you with all the votes unanimously." The Cardinal said, moreover, to my secretary, "The Duke did not dislike my proposal, but nothing farther has been said to me about it. I can do no more, and am certain that in the confessional I have not to reproach myself with having failed in my duty; for I have said without scruple that which no one else had the courage to say; anticipating abuse, and even blows (*botte*) and imprisonment; for after all, the Pope himself in the end will wish me well for it, knowing that I spoke for his advantage, and that of this See Apostolic, and not for any private respect of my own."

Rome, 22nd August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.

Aug. 22.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

583. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at 2 p.m. went to the Pope, who announced the return of his messenger Domenico del Nero from the Duke of Alba, who treated him kindly and expressed goodwill towards his Holiness. Having listened to the Pope's solemn protestations of his wish for peace, replied that besides the other causes which made me hope for peace was the desire displayed by his Holiness for the "reformation" (*reforma*), which was so ardent that even in the midst of the present troubles, he yesterday in consistory had issued certain orders to that effect. His Holiness replied most amiably (*tutto pieno di dolcezza*), "Yesterday we put our hand to the root of a too flagrant impiety, namely the '*accessi*' and '*regressi*,' *etiam invitis dominis*, tantamount to sending those poor prelates to the slaughter-house (*al macello*). And whilst on this topic we will tell you a joke of a waggish courtier, who threw himself at the Pope's feet, asking him for a large benefice held by a very famous man. The Pope replied, How can you ask this favour of me when we know that the benefice is not vacant, its incumbent being still alive? whereupon the gentleman said he wished to tax the abuses of the court, adding, Holy Father, do but give me the benefice, and leave to me the care of rendering it vacant. With regard to which matter when we received the '*regresso*' of our Archbishopric of Naples* without knowing anything about it, we induced Pope Julius to 'repeal all the '*regressi*' conceded *sine consensu* [of the incumbents?]. He declined doing so with regard to all benefices in general, but repealed those of the cathedral churches, and we were then told by a very worthy cardinal, that they had done a most holy work, as there were cardinals who had as many as 40 '*regressi*;' so now, when we have the power, we will not allow it to escape us. All the '*accessi*' by whomsoever given, and be their clauses what they may, have been revoked and cancelled by us, so that word no longer exists; and yesterday when speaking about this matter we inveighed against the '*regressi*,' issuing a mandate for the cardinals in Rome to give a list (*una nota*) of those they have within a fortnight, those who are absent from Rome but in Italy within a month, and those who are out of Italy within three months; and on receiving these particulars, should any person be found to have more than one, we shall say, It is improper (*non sta bene*); take one of them, renounce the others; and when it comes to the point of the '*regresso*,' we will compel them to keep but one benefice, either that of the '*regresso*' or the one held previously. And thus will we go reforming by degrees, nor do we choose the devil, with all the designs projected by him, to prevail against this good work, as this is, building for one's self a house in heaven; and we have commenced with ourselves, suppressing almost entirely the '*daturiato*,' which yielded us so great a revenue, in order that when we shall come to the others,

* According to Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 166, 167, it seems that Gianpietro Carafa obtained the reversion of the see of Naples in 1549, but did not obtain possession of it until 1551, in the reign of Julius III.

1556.

they may not be able to say that we do it to enrich ourselves, seeing that at a moment the most critical which could befall us, we deprived ourselves of such vast income, not because we did not know that we had need of it, but because we could not take it without committing the sin of simony. Should we be able to call the Council, as we hope to do speedily, we will accomplish all at once and well, as where many sages are gathered together, things are done better. Should it, however, be difficult to convoke, we will propose the questions to the cardinals (*daremo li quesiti alli Cardinali*) whether such a dispensation, such an absolution, or such an office be saleable. They will not be able to speak against the truth, and were they to do so, we would commit them to the Inquisition as heretics; and thus do we hope in God to go reforming, without that fear which other Popes had of dying of hunger, for we do not distrust the goodness of God, which has always assisted us. When we came to your city we brought neither gold nor silver, nor property of any sort; you gave us shelter and you gave us bread, with so much charity as not to choose it even to be known who gave it us; and now that we are here, were we to apprehend its failing us, we should deserve to be punished by God for entertaining such a fear, as we have even experience of this, for incurring such extraordinary expenditure as we do (all of which, however, is necessary) in troops and fortifications, so that we spend upwards of 70,000 crowns per month, yet have we no lack of funds, and our revenues on the contrary have all increased, not from the prosperity of the times, as owing to the scarcity of everything it ought to be the reverse, but because our eyes have been opened; nor have our kinsfolk chosen to do what the nephews and relations of other Popes did, taking bribes for leasing the revenues of the Church so much below their value; and although according to the proverb every man thinks his own wife the most chaste of any, yet does the fact prove that these nephews of ours might have kept this augmentation for themselves, and that they did not do so."

After the Pope had listened to the perusal of the news-letters from Constantinople discussing the power of Sultan Soliman, he blamed the Imperial ministers for provoking him, and said that should a Turkish fleet come into these waters, the King of France could not be accused of having sent for it. He then complained of the bad policy of the Christian Princes, who gave just cause to fear that one day or other the Turk will do the rest (*il Turco non fucci il resto*), his forces being innumerable, and that what he once gets possession of he never loses. In conclusion, his Holiness spoke at great length about the Emperor's departure for Spain, and the withdrawing (*retirata*) of the King his son to England, it seeming to him that at no time more disadvantageous for his interests than at present, nor with a greater demonstration of weakness, could the Emperor have determined on departure, unless perchance it conceal something unknown, both to his Holiness and others.

For many months I have never heard the Pope talk more reservedly than to-day, so it is possibly true, according to the advices from France, that Cardinal Caraffa despairing of obtaining

1556.

what he wanted from the King, as the Constable opposed it, Cardinal had recourse to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who made him speak with the King (*Talboecò col Re*), and they said so much that his most Christian Majesty consented to give a levy of Switzers, and to make a certain pecuniary deposit.

Rome, 22nd August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug, 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

584. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Legate left Morette on the 17th instant, and will embark at Toulon, avoiding Marseilles on account of the plague. A friend of mine, his confidant, told me that he spoke with Cardinal Caraffa before his departure, and found him joyful, his Lordship saying he had so urged the most Christian King and the Constable that they promised positively to make the deposit at Venice, the money being put in a place under two keys, one of which to be kept by the Pope's commissioner, and the other by his Majesty's nominee, with an express declaration that the money is to be spent solely for the defence of the Church and of the state of Paliano; and whenever any portion of this deposit shall be abstracted for the purposes aforesaid, one and other of those princes will be bound within a certain period to make good the deficit, so that the 500,000 crowns will always remain there, but in deposit. For the sake of encouraging the King to take this step he had proposed to him the means for obtaining the money through the merchants on very fair terms; and the Pope likewise on his part was prepared to supply his quota. The Legate added that his most Christian Majesty had promised him to keep twelve of his galleys in the harbour of Civitavecchia, according to the Legate's request, and that he had fair hopes that after his landing, those which conveyed him would remain there. Thus he said he took with him the announcement of the deposit, a firm promise of the galleys, and that the Switzers should be ready whenever needed, so that for the entire grant of all he desired there merely remained the 300 men-at-arms, but, although the King makes a difficulty about conceding them, the Legate trusted that should circumstances require the passage of the Switzers, his Majesty will be compelled to send the said men-at-arms likewise.

All these things have been confirmed to me through another channel, with the exception of the mode whereby to find money for the deposit, I having been unable as yet to discover either that particular, or in whose hands the money is to be placed; but notwithstanding these apparently defensive preparations in case the King of England molest the Pope, reports are nevertheless in circulation of an offensive attack next year, the rumour resting on certain words uttered by the Constable which might be construed in this sense; in addition to which, precise orders have been sent to every part of the kingdom to levy the royal revenues and enforce their payments, which has strengthened the aforesaid opinion.

The day before the said Legate departed he sent for the Abbot of San Saluto, and told him that he knew the commencement of his

1556.

negotiation about the peace between these Princes, and also knew that he was expecting a reply from Brussels, but by advices which he, the Legate, had received from that court, the delay of its transmission proceeded from M. d'Amont [Simon Renard], the Imperial Ambassador here, who had performed two evil offices against him; first, he forwarded the letters very late and open, and then wrote to the Emperor and King Philip that they must not trust Parpaglia, as his bias was French, and that he merely sought to elicit information from Brussels for the purpose of imparting it to this court; but that the Bishop of Arras, who of late shows himself hostile to d'Amont, took the Abbot under his protection, and by demonstrating his good qualities discredited the aforesaid ambassador, so that Caraffa believed they would soon answer Parpaglia. And here the Legate commenced saying how anxious the Pope was for this peace, provided things proceeded with true effects (*con veri effetti*) and without fraud, and that he, the Legate, in his Holiness' name, promised if the Imperialists laid down their arms that the Pope would do the like; and as he knew that they felt aggrieved by the fortification of Paliano, they must dismiss that from their minds, as his Holiness chose by all means to complete it, but that if the Imperialists would come to a real adjustment, they would find the Pope excellently disposed to satisfy them by merely keeping there such a garrison as was required for its necessary defence, and which could not give any suspicion of attack. In reply, the Abbot, after greatly commending the disposition of the Pope and the Legate, offered to write about this to Brussels, at his Lordship's command, and the Cardinal requested him so to do, assuring him that he would find his deeds and words to correspond, and that on receiving a reply he was to give him notice; and with this Parpaglia went to Paris, intending to write to Ruy Gomez.

Morette, 24th August 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 25.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

585. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The landing of the Emperor in England, about which there is much discourse amongst the multitude, is verified solely by conjecture and opinion. It is true that orders have been sent to provide victuals and refreshments at certain ports of this Channel, such as Dover and Portsmouth, off which the fleet must necessarily pass, so that should it put in there, from lack of wind or from foul weather, or any other accident, it may be conveniently received and provisioned; in which case, should the place where it might arrive prove suitable, the Queen would perhaps go thither for an interview with his Imperial Majesty, and thus, so far as can be known at present, it would take place accidentally and casually as a thing done and caused on the sudden, and not as arranged and concerted beforehand. Her Majesty indeed chose the Admiral to re-embark on board the seven ships which remained armed, and to put to sea to meet the

1556.

fleet and join it, to give convoy as far as the Emperor might please, though with the intention that the said ships might also serve for the King's passage hither, but she subsequently determined, so great is her anxiety (*gelosia*) and desire for the coming of the King, regardless of expense, to have the others fitted out expressly for his Majesty's passage, so that on arriving at Calais he may not be prevented crossing should he have to await those of the Admiral, but at any rate find these already awaiting him; and to-morrow or the day after the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Paget are to go thither to receive him, the Lord Treasurer and the Bishop of Ely doing the like at Dover, but the departure of these last is more uncertain than that of the others.

What I wrote doubtfully* about the money which the Queen sought to borrow is now verified by the fact, her Majesty having sent freely (*liberamente*) to the lords and gentlemen, the wealthiest and best provided (*più ricchi et commodi*), letters [privy seals] in which is specified the precise sum demanded of each of them, according to what the individual may be supposed able to bear, and I am told that the least is 40 pounds sterling, her Majesty urging all of them to exceed their means, availing themselves of their property and credit to raise the sum required by her, as she is in great need, and compelled to supply herself with funds to enable her to quell the insurrections to which she is daily subjected. *This mode of request has seemed the more strange and vexatious to everybody, as it is unusual and unprecedented (innusitata et insolita), the device being attributed to the suggestion (consiglio) of the Spanish lords, in order, as said by them publicly, that the King may make use of the money; so it seems that all (although it be untrue) apologize under pretence of being overwhelmed with debts; but opposition will be of little avail, nor in the end will any one dare obstinately to resist her Majesty's desire.*†

Since the execution of the authors of the proclamation in Suffolk,‡ of whom a schoolmaster was the ringleader, reports circulate about a certain other individual, a captain from the other side of the Channel (*capitano di là dal mare*), an arch-heretic well acquainted with Germany, where he is known, and he is said to have had an understanding with the schoolmaster and his accomplices, as entertained by him actually with the emigrants (*transfugi*) and rebels abroad. This person for his greater security lives for the most part in the forests in England (*in queste selve*), and hiding himself there, he every now and then with great audacity appears in one town or another, sometimes disguised as a peasant, sometimes as a wayfarer, sometimes as a merchant, and sometimes in one garb, sometimes in another, so as not to be tracked and recognised, finding out all those whom he knows to be suspected, and of the same mind in the matter of religion, preaching to them and encouraging them to remain firm and constant, as they shall soon hear and see great and powerful

* Probably in the missing letter of the 11th August.

† The decipher is imperfect, but the ambassador's meaning is, I think, correctly given in my text.

‡ I do not know in how many counties Cleobury's proclamation was made.

1556.

personages, who will come to replace them in their religion (*a rimetterle nella loro religione*) and free them from slavery ; after the performance of which persuasive offices, he immediately disappears, retiring into the country and the forests (*selve*). In many places orders have been given to keep on the watch to capture him if possible, spies being posted for this purpose in the forests (*boschi*), and they hunt him with bloodhounds, as is done to wild beasts and beasts of chase (*come si fa alle fiere et animali di caccia*).

London, 25th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

586. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Martino Alonso, who arrived here yesterday, sent me two packets of letters from your Serenity, one dated the 8th, the other the 10th instant, so I sent immediately to demand audience of the Emperor and his son ; and this morning, when received by King Philip, I told him I was commissioned by your Serenity to let him know what great satisfaction you had derived from the loving congratulations and confidential announcements made to you in the Emperor's name and his Majesty's, by the said Don Alonso and the ambassador Vargas, assuring him that you reciprocated these sentiments, and saying how readily you had written to the Pope urging him to find means to obtain quiet not only for Italy but for Christendom ; adding that I was charged to pray his Majesty to persevere in his natural inclination for peace. He replied that the accounts received from Don Martino and the ambassador Vargas had so convinced him of your affection that he was extremely satisfied, and that you would always find him your good friend ; the expression of his countenance when giving this assurance convincing me that he was really much pleased with the replies given to Don Martino, and with what your Serenity had done. He then began telling me, with great familiarity, that the Emperor purposed departing for Zealand to-morrow, and would send for me and the other ambassadors to dismiss us ; and in the act of my taking leave he thanked me for the good offices which Don Martino told him I had performed, as confirmed by the letters of the ambassador Vargas.

To-day I went to visit Don Bernardino de Mendoza, expecting also to find with him (as I did) the said Don Alonso, his nephew. Don Bernardino said to me apart he thought a greater union must be formed between the King and your Serenity, because the Pope would declare himself unfriendly to you, and purposed giving the port of Ancona to the King of France, through whose intervention he would make the Turkish fleet harass your Serenity. He said letters had arrived from their Majesties' ambassador in France purporting that the King told him he would not fail to observe the truce, although from his confederacy with the Pope he could not fail succouring him ; and that by letters lately received from England from the Queen and the members of her Council, he hoped that should the King of France not keep the truce, the Queen would

1556.

declare war on his most Christian Majesty for the benefit of her Consort. Then taking in his hand a lengthy despatch, he told me it was an agreement which would soon be concluded with the delegate from Peru, in the name of the feudatories there, from whom the King would obtain so considerable a sum of money, that he will be able to defend himself not only against the Pope but also against France, and any other power, if requisite; and the feudatories, provided they obtain permission to dispose of their lands and effects (*robbe*) to their heirs and successors, will bind themselves within three years to pay eight millions of gold, binding the King to render the [Peruvian] revenues independent of Spain (*con obbligare il Re a disimpegnare l'intrate della Spagna*). In my reply I endeavoured to give him satisfaction, and went immediately to Don Ruy Gomez to make the same impression as on the mind of the King with regard to the resolve announced by your Serenity to Don Martino Alonso, the said Don Ruy Gomez being the person to whom alone the King confides everything; and after performance of this office, with which he seemed well satisfied, he said the King would desire his ambassador to thank your Serenity for your intention of writing to the Pope to dispose him to peace. He told me besides, that the French Ambassador had never answered him whether his King consented, as he said he would, to appoint your Serenity arbitrator of the disputes between their Majesties; and that yesterday the said ambassador sent him word that being indisposed, he could not come to see him, saying that if he wished to talk about the peace, towards which he saw him of late disposed, he would willingly discuss it; Don Ruy Gomez remarking to me that he considered the message a feint, and that the ambassador did not really entertain any such wish, but that he nevertheless purposed going to see him.

Ghent, 25th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

587. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning the Emperor appointed all the ambassadors to go to him in the afternoon; and speaking to each of them separately, he said he was determined to depart for Zealand to-morrow, and await fair weather for his passage to Spain, whither he purposed going, knowing himself to be no longer adapted to the management of the affairs of the world, and that he wished to serve God with his mind at peace. To the Siennese Ambassador, who was the first, after narrating to him several things which had taken place between his Majesty and that Republic, he said he had left the care of it to his son, when negotiating with whom he would find him most lovingly disposed towards it; and the ambassador, who told me himself that he had received this commission, added thrice, with a sigh, "Good God! what has the King of Spain to do with Sienna? and when will His Divine Majesty have mercy on our sins?" The second was the ambassador from Florence, who told the Emperor that not one of his true servants counselled him to take this departure, especially in the midst of such great troubles as Italy is threatened

1556.

with by the Pope, and which will consequently occur in many parts of Christendom; wherefore the Duke his lord, as his Majesty's most faithful servant, felt great discontent at it. The Emperor replied that this was not injurious either to the Duke or anyone else who had relied on his remaining here, as what the King his son, young, robust, and absolute master, might be unable to do, could still less be effected by him, he being now old and feeble, and divested of all power. The Nuncio followed next, remaining but a short while with his Majesty, and came forth very melancholy; nor has it been possible to ascertain what he said to the Emperor, nor what his Majesty replied; and from what his auditor has told me, the Emperor did not send for him, but the Bishop of Arras, as of his own accord, let him know his Majesty's resolve to dismiss the ambassadors, adding that in case he had any office to perform in this matter for his own satisfaction, he was to let him know; so the Nuncio sent to tell him (as he had informed the Bishop some days previously) that he also wished to perform this office of taking leave of his Imperial Majesty; the Bishop of Arras thus showing that the giving the Nuncio audience did not proceed from him.

After the Nuncio, I was introduced to his Majesty, and seeing him pause in expectation of my commencing the conversation, I represented to him in your Serenity's name what I told his most Serene son about your reply to Don Martino Alonso, and the precise words used by his Majesty in reply were as follows: "Ambassador! I have heard from Martino Alonso the loving demonstrations made to him by the Signory, and their goodwill with regard to desiring all happiness for me and the King my son; and it seems to me that they have taken the good road by writing to the Pope to dispose him to peace and quiet, and if they continue performing this office, as you have told me, the Pope will have regard for them, *and will abstain from playing the mad pranks he does, owing to his extreme old age* (et si rimoverà di far delle pazzie che fa per esser molto vecchio), *which may be said to have arrived at second childhood;*" repeating to me several times these words, "*That he was indeed old, and that in the midst of so much mischief this was a blessing;*" adding, "Ambassador! with yourself personally, and with the good offices which I know have been performed by you at this court and with the Signory, as written to me by Francisco Vargas, and told me orally by Martino Alonso, I remain very well satisfied, and wish you during your stay with the King my son to persevere in the same sincere disposition as evinced by you hitherto. To-morrow I shall depart for Zealand, there to await fair weather for my passage to Spain, to live in repose, and serve God as I ought; and shall always remain with that goodwill towards the Signory which I always have borne them, and which I promise on behalf of the King my son." I replied that willingly would I have completed the term of my legation with his Majesty, and have followed him both to Spain and to any other region whither he might have gone, not merely in obedience to your Serenity's commands, but from my own election, considering it great good fortune for me whilst serving the most serene Republic, to reside with an Emperor who, from so many heroic virtues, such very exalted conditions of fortune and

1556.

so many undertakings heretofore so gloriously achieved by him, had very great fame in the world; but since it was his Majesty's firm will to withdraw himself entirely from worldly pomps and actions, and to make this voyage, I prayed the Lord God to grant him the grace to enjoy a very long life in the utmost prosperity, and to enable him to keep his mind in that great and secure, nay sole, repose which is attained by those who serve Him without guile, as I should believe his Majesty would do;* and that he might indubitably take with him this satisfaction, that what I had assured him of your Serenity's goodwill, and of your respect for him and the King, would always be verified by good operations for the future, such as he knew had been effected on past occasions; and humbly thanking him on my own private account for his opinion of my sincere mode of proceeding, I said that I had also to thank my good fortune for enabling me, whilst obeying your Serenity's commands, to render myself agreeable to his Majesty, of whom I then took leave, which was conceded me with loving and hearty words and gestures. The Ferrarese and Mantuan Ambassadors followed, being both called at the same time. To the one from Ferrara, when the complimentary phrases were ended, he spoke rather resentfully of his Duke, by reason of the many and divers things done by him to the prejudice of King Philip's territories by adhering to his enemies, saying he wished the ambassador to let him know that he nevertheless did not believe everything, and that it was no less for the Duke's interest to have the King for his friend than it was advantageous for his Majesty to be on good terms with his Excellency; and to the Mantuan Ambassador he spoke in honourable and loving terms, calling the Cardinal his "good friend," and Don Ferrante "a faithful creature" (*fedel creato*). The Portuguese Ambassador was the last to take leave of the Emperor, with whom he remained a short time, nor have I heard anything farther.

I visited the most serene Queens, making them offers in your Serenity's name, and wishing them a very prosperous voyage, &c., and was answered lovingly, especially by Queen Maria, who really seemed to think—such was the opinion of all the personages of these courts—that she was being addressed by the representative of a sovereign who, in these times, is sincere, and their Majesties' good friend.

Ghent, 27th August 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 28.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

588. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at audience, in reply to my usual panegyric on peace, the Pope replied, "We have told you that our most earnest wish is for a good peace, and those who think otherwise of us think what is false, and the blessed God knows it; but the mischief is that we

* Come mi daria a credere che furia la Maestà sua.

1556.

cannot ever rely on the Imperialists ; we know them too well, and how ambitious they are of universal empire, and that they cannot keep what they hold in Italy except by tyranny and force, gnawing the vitals and drinking the blood of the poor, as they do ; so we cannot tranquillise ourselves until rid of this plague ; and may God forgive those who have let them commit so many impieties (*pie* (sic) [*impietà*] ?) ; we are doomed to mourn the sins of others ; *Patres nostri comederunt uvas acerbas, et dentes filiorum obstupescunt* ; but we will not fail to do our duty, *viderint deinde alij, quid eis conduct.* We well know that when a neighbour's house is on fire every man must look to his own, lest the flames reach it ; and we know that the Republics of Greece, each looking with delight on the conflagration of the other, without doing what it ought to have done, they were all consumed. Here there is no occasion to await greater or more manifest signs of their avidity, and desire to seize this city, and consequently the rest. Besides the sack of Rome, of which Charles denies having been the cause, and says he knew nothing of it, although his having kept the Pope and cardinals for 11 months in the castle of St. Angelo deprives him of this excuse ; did he not, when he returned from Africa by way of Sicily, come to this city to make himself master of it ? but Paul III. armed cautiously, and moreover succeeded in thwarting the design of Charles, who then contented himself with proclaiming his challenge to the King of France in Consistory, and having made it appear that he came for this purpose, he departed ; having ever since, with the same intention of occupying the Papal States, supported those little traitor-curs of his (*quelli suoi cagnoletti traditorelli*), of whom we have rid ourselves ; which touches him to the quick, as by securing ourselves hereabout (*d'intorno*) we deprive him of this accursed hope. Our predecessors have spent rivers of gold to exalt their bastards and nephews, and on other things, which displeased both God and man, and then brought ruin on their families. Would to God that the money had been expended in securing the Papal States and this city, on which we are intent ; we a poor, decrepid old man, and compelled as we are to incur such great expense for soldiers, we are intent on fortifying the Castle and Borgo, and by God's assistance, and through the diligence of Camillo Orsini, who is a great captain, and skilled above all things in military architecture, we shall be in a state of defence, but by earth-works, which in the course of time it is our intention to face with masonry (*s'incamiserà*) the plans being already made for fortifying Trastevere likewise, and the whole city ; so it may be said that there will be three fortresses connected one with the other. For this fortification the Romans contribute willingly as it is their safeguard, and from thence will ensue the enlargement of the city, which when strong will have a dense population ; this being a government which resembles that of the Republic, where those who have certain means, and lead a good life, may be sure of enjoying them ; for if a Pope does some mischief occasionally, the one who comes after him conducts himself well, if but for the sake of doing the reverse of his predecessor ; nor in the next place is there anyone, let him be of what country or condition he may, but can have great hopes in

1556.

Rome; besides the convenience of the site, and its vicinity to the sea; and as the population increases, the revenue both public and private will augment, as exemplified by your Venice; and we were told of yore when there, and we believe the amount at present to be greater, that the city alone yielded six hundred thousand crowns, whilst the entire kingdom of Naples, when not manipulated (*quando non era maneggiato*), produced no more, and therefore paid the church a tribute (*censo*) of 60,000, which was the tithes; but now they make it give more than two millions, and pay a hackney and seven thousand crowns per annum, in virtue of that dispensation of Leo [X. A.D. 1519] allowing it to be united to the Empire, contrary to the order of our most holy predecessors, who had great foresight. From this so much mischief ensued that it may be said, *Dominumque potentem imposuit*. Hence came the ruin of Italy, and the miserable sack of Rome. Now to tell you the whole, we shall continue to secure this city against being the prey of whoever may choose to come to it; about which, when speaking with Cardinal S. Giacomo, he told me that this fortification, precisely as we are constructing it, was predicted by the most blessed widow St. Brigida, to whom our Lord Jesus Christ vouchsafed to turn his face, as you must have seen by the crucifix in St. Paul's, which turns its face and eyes towards the place where that blessed woman stood in the act of adoration. Her visions were acknowledged, Cardinal Torre Cremata having been appointed to investigate them.* On hearing this from Cardinal S. Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo], we determined to see the revelations, and sent for the book with the chapter marked."

Talking thus, he took it up, and keeping the book closed, he said, "Before you read the paragraph we will tell you, *in verbo veritatis*, that had we read it previously, we should perhaps not have entertained this thought, lest the world might say that we realized it in order to be considered the Pope who is foretold in that passage; but as the work has been commenced and is so far advanced, and this fortification being so necessary, we will continue it, for the sake also of not slighting the favour of God, for to confess the truth to you, after reading this, we were much satisfied and comforted, seeing the fortification described precisely as we intended constructing it."

With these words the Pope opened the book and gave it me, that I might read the paragraph, of which—indicating so clearly as it does the present fortification, which any person who knows the situation of "Borgo" will comprehend, and also to increase his Holiness' satisfaction—I asked him for a copy, to send (as I do with this despatch) to your Serenity. The Pope sent immediately for writing materials, and told my secretary to copy the passage, during

* The crucifix in relief, to which Paul IV. alludes, was carved by Pietro Cavallini, a painter, sculptor, and mosaic worker, born at Rome in 1259, and who had Giotto for his master. According to the vulgar tradition the crucifix "*spoke*" to Saint Brigida in the year 1370, a quarter of a century after Cavallini's death. This Saint Brigida, who is said to have been a princess of Sweden, must not be confounded with Saint Brigita, the Irish Abbess of Kildare in the 5th century. The "*Revelations*" of Saint Brigida, after being sanctioned by the Spanish cardinal, Torquemado (*alias* Torre Cremata), who died at Rome in 1468, were published at Nuremberg in 1521, and at Rome in 1557, which last edition was probably suggested by the fortifications described in this letter.

1556.

which operation he asked me how the plague went at Venice, evincing great wish for the city to be quite rid of it. I told him things remained as they were, and that the fear of plague was perhaps greater than the disease itself, and that I hoped in God it would soon disappear. The Pope replied, "May He, the glorious and blessed, grant this of His goodness, and for the welfare of all Italy!"

When the paragraph was copied the Pope had it read to him, and said, "We will not omit to tell you that the houses which Saint Brigida says will be round the walls, have been already destined by Camillo Orsini for the soldiers, so that by remaining apart they may not inconvenience the city;" and after I had taken leave he added, "Offer the Signory our heart, replete with love and paternal good-will for her;" and when I asked him whether the Duke of Alva's envoy would remain long here, he said, "He will await our reply, which we shall give him in due season, and after mature consideration, although what he said to us was of very little importance."

Rome, 28th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 6 B.

589. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Pirro dell' Offredo, whose arrival I mentioned in my letter of yesterday, went to audience on Thursday, accompanied by some 30 Roman horsemen, sent by the Pope as a mark of honour. He waited until 7 p.m., when the congregation of the Inquisition adjourned, and was then admitted to his Holiness, with whom he was heard to speak boldly, and they raised their voices to such a pitch that Misser Paulo* was obliged to close the wooden doors that they might not be heard outside. This gentleman was seen to depart much exhausted and enraged, and when one of the Roman cavaliers, his friend who had accompanied him, asked whether he brought peace or war, he replied, "Whichever the Pope pleases."

The letter from the Duke of Alva to the Pope, which was brought by Don Pirro, narrates very diffusely all the things done and said by his Holiness against the Emperor and King Philip, commencing with the time when he was Cardinal down to the present hour, showing that the Pope had no cause to do so; and that neither his Princes nor he, have the slightest thought of waging war on the See Apostolic or on his Holiness; but owing to this distrust, and seeing the Pope arm so stoutly, he prepared for defence, but with the intention (should means be found for trustworthy quiet, about which he referred himself to the Potentates of Italy, and principally to your Serenity and to the College of Cardinals) of giving entire satisfaction to his Holiness. I am also told that Don Pirro has another letter for delivery to the College of Cardinals, with orders to visit them, and that he has already been to the Cardinal "Decano."

* Misser Paulo Barona, *alias* Consiglieri, was "Maestro di Camera" of Paul IV., and one of the most virtuous men of his Court. In March 1557, the Pope gave the red hat to his brother Giovanni Battista de' Consiglieri "di Casa Barona," as appears in a despatch from Navagero, dated Rome, 20th March in that year.

1556.

The French have at length sent a messenger with news of the resolve formed by the King of Spain about the affairs of Piacenza, which Cardinal St. Angelo [Ranuccio Farnese] announced yesterday evening to the Duke of Paliano, praying him to make it known to the Pope in the best form he could. The Duke said he dared not, but this afternoon he made the announcement, which enraged the Pope beyond measure; but the Duke sent to Cardinal St. Angelo, who seemed in great distress, telling him to be of good cheer, as his Holiness holds him guiltless in this matter, but implies that his brothers are in the worst possible odour. Here this step is considered of very great importance on many accounts, most especially as it is expected to increase the difficulty of effecting any adjustment of the present disputes.* It is said that King Philip restores Piacenza, but retains the citadel, giving back Navar† to the Duke, and Monreale to Cardinal [Alessandro] Farnese; he keeps the Duke's son as hostage, and allows the Duke to outlaw the murderers of his father from his dominions; but chooses them to enjoy their revenues there until Duke Octavio make them compensation through the revenues of Madama [Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of Charles V., and consort of Duke Octavio] in the kingdom of Naples, and certain feudatory fortresses in the Parmesan territory are to be destroyed.

Rome, 29th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

590. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday at about the vesper-hour, the Emperor's departure took place in a litter, for a palace distant a league and half from the sea, on his way towards Zealand. Almost the whole court went forth to accompany his Majesty, including the King, who is still with his Majesty, he having sent back all the others into this town, whose deputies, before he went away, made him a present of twenty-five thousand crowns for the voyage, many of the inhabitants having wished previously to kiss his hand as also did the members of the privy-council, the last of whom to perform which act was the Bishop of Arras, he throwing himself on his knees in the street before the litter, his countenance evincing great sorrow for this departure, as manifested indiscriminately by the discourse of all the ministers, everybody saying, as Don Ruy Gomez and Don Bernardino de Mendoza said to me, that they found no other reason that could induce his Majesty thus to do, except his having said he would do so; concerning which expression Don Ruy Gomez told me again that he had great hopes that perhaps the Almighty will not choose him to go, that the weather may become foul, or his Majesty have a sharp fit of the gout. He also said that this voyage was contrary to the wish of the King; and that without

* The date of the treaty whereby Philip II. made over Piacenza to his brother-in-law, Duke Octavio, is not given by the Venetian ambassador; but by the "Foreign Calendar, Mary," p. 271, it appears that the surrender of Piacenza was made in the third week of October 1556.

† Marquisate of Navara, see p. 603.

1556.

transacting business the Emperor might well remain in these parts, where he would have been able to render great assistance to his most serene son by authority and counsel.

Yesterday the Nuncio received a courier with a brief from the Pope, desiring him to take leave of their Majesties and to return with all speed to Rome. He performed the office enjoined him with the King alone, and will depart in a week, having circulated a report that the Pope would send some one else in his stead, which, however, is not stated in the brief, but he says he had it in private letters, though no one believes this; and it is generally said that the Pope chose to recall him independently of other respects, seeing that he wrote and negotiated in a form the reverse of what his Holiness would have wished; and he complained to me of the bad character given him as being too staunch an Imperialist, vowing that in his letters all he aimed at was to preserve the peace.

Ghent, 29th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

591. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Demands his recall, and assigns the reasons which entitle him to it.

Ghent, 29th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29.
Senato Terra,
vol. 40, p. 127.
Venetian
Archives.

592. EMBASSY IN ENGLAND.

Twenty-eight months have elapsed since our beloved noble Zuan Michiel has been ambassador with the Queen of England.

Put to the ballot, that election be made of another nobleman as successor to the said Ser Zuane.

To be eligible from any place and office, and the person elected may not refuse, under all the penalties contained in the Act of 1536 against those who refuse embassies to crowned heads; and besides the four months' salary in advance, which will be given him here, as usual, by the cashier of our Council of X, be there given to the agents left here by the said ambassador 180 golden ducats per month, so that our Signory may not incur any loss on this account by reason of the exchange; and be he bound to depart within the term appointed by the last act of this [Council] and the Grand Council which regulates the election of ambassadors; and with such commission as shall seem fit to this Council.

Ayes, 41.

Read to the College on the 25th May 1556. Read again on the 21st June. Read for the third time on the 3rd July. Read for the fourth time on the 28th August.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

593. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The most Christian King, wishing to carry into effect the promise given by him to Cardinal Caraffa, has desired the agents of the Guadagni firm at Lyons, who trade under the name of Caponi and

1556.

Rinuccini, to provide 290,000 crowns to make the deposit in Venice, sending them the securities (*li assegnamenti*), with interest at the rate of 16 per cent. as usual; and the residue required to complete the sum of 350,000 crowns promised by the King is to be placed to the account of the 60,000 crowns, which the Pope has already had for his necessities.

Morette, 30th August 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

594. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The departure of the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Paget for Calais, and of the others for Dover, to meet the most serene King, which according to the custom of this country (*secondo lo uso di qua*), was determined on more instantaneously and hastily than the need required, failed subsequently to take effect, and has moreover so cooled as to be no longer mentioned and is scarcely thought of; and although by his last of the 27th ulto. the King confirms his wish to come, he nevertheless in what he writes to Cardinal Pole neither promises nor announces any intention of being here beyond that of coming as soon as he can get away, after the Emperor's embarkation and departure, without specifying either day or time, neither commending the Legate's journey to Canterbury to meet him nor consenting to it, in order, he says, not to remove him from the Queen, to whom his presence is so useful, as also that he the King may not be delayed or hindered when passing through that city. From these and other indications, no person of any grade, however inferior, having yet arrived on account of the King, or of any member of his court, although he must be preceded by many officials to provide necessaries, few of the English think he will come, or they expect his coming to be tardy, and without the court, merely to show himself (*per dar una volta solamente*), and for a few days only.

The payment of the loan was appointed to be made during the present month into the hands of the Queen's comptroller, which increases the suspicion and resentment (querela) of the people (di costoro), its exaction not having been assigned, like the other public taxes, to the Lord High Treasurer (Tesoriere Generale),† they being of opinion that this was done in order that the Crown might less scrupulously avail itself of the money through the hands of so very confidential a minister and creature of Her Majesty than through those of the Treasurer, who is a public official of the kingdom.*

Ecclesiastics of all grades, whether prelates or others, were not exempt from the loan, which was exacted irrespectively from all persons supposed to have the means of payment, whether citizens, merchants, or burgesses, though no one was taxed above 100*l.* nor under 20*l.* In addition separate loans have been obtained from private individuals, and the like will be done by all the chief cities, towns, and boroughs of the kingdom, London having a few days ago

* Sir Robert Rochester, Comptroller of the Household.

† William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester.

1556.

contributed to the amount of 8,000*l.*, independently of what will be paid by the most wealthy of the City companies, who are rated for larger sums; so that the entire loan is expected to yield 400,000*l.*, or four times the original estimate.

Viscount Fitz-Walter, the new Lord Deputy (*Vicerè novo*) of Ireland, has gained a victory over the wild Irish (*quelli salvatici*), who, with the assistance of a number of Scots, had rebelled, and were ravaging the country. Lord Fitz-Walter in person attacked them with a large force, drove the Scots out of the island with great slaughter, and subdued the Irish, with the loss of only three or four of his own people; and thus for the present all is peaceable in that kingdom.

Sir John Masone, the ambassador of this Crown with the Emperor, having taken leave entirely, has returned from that court, an ambassador being no longer needed with his Imperial Majesty, who lately sent for from hence, to take with him to Spain, his former confessor Father Soto, who was public lecturer in theology in the university of Oxford, his departure paining the Queen, by reason of the service she received from him there, and yet more the Cardinal, who loved him most dearly above all the other (*sopra tutti gli altri*) [Spaniards?] by reason of his goodness and many virtues. He received handsome presents from both one and the other, and Cardinal Pole at his own cost had him accompanied across the Channel beyond the English territory.

London, 2nd September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

595. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday his most Christian Majesty told me the Emperor was to have embarked on the 28th ult., and that before he left Ghent he sent for the French Ambassador, and told him he had determined on going to Spain, and felt certain he should never return, wherefore he requested him to write to King Henry that as his son remained the heir of all his realms, he wished him to succeed to the goodwill borne by his Imperial Majesty towards the most Christian King, whom he prayed to return it to him in like manner, and the ambassador made a suitable reply and took leave. The ambassador also writes that his Majesty is in very bad condition, his pronunciation being impeded, and his hands and feet crippled; notwithstanding his mind was evidently very sound, although his memory seemed rather feeble. His most Christian Majesty added that, as I must have heard, the King of Bohemia had been to the Imperial court, and went away dissatisfied, and one day, when the French Ambassador was visiting him, his Majesty, with a very loud voice, so that many persons in the chamber heard him, did not abstain from openly expressing this his dissatisfaction to the Ambassador, to whom it seeming strange that he should speak in so loud a tone, he made him a certain sign, inviting him to lower his voice, which the King

1556.

perceiving, his Majesty said, "No, no; I choose to speak loud, as here there are no Spaniards, nor will I have any of them; these being my Germans, with whom I choose always to proceed without reserve;" and, continuing his discourse, he said that he had never chosen to allude to the Emperor either about the things which belonged to him by right nor yet respecting favours, as he knew that had he demanded anything whatever, the Emperor would instantly have commenced about the renunciation of the Empire, to which the King of Bohemia would by no means condescend (*lu quale in modo alcuno non voleva fare*), but that the Queen his wife had negociated, she demanding of his Majesty wherewithal to subsist, by giving her what belonged to her, and what he had promised her heretofore; which having moved the Emperor, he promised her for herself and her children (*dandogli quello che gli apparteneva, et altre fiate gli havea promesso; dal che mosso la Ma^{te} Sua Cesarea, gli havea promesso per lei et soi figlioli*) 50,000 crowns annual revenue on the kingdom of Aragon, 50,000 on the kingdom of Naples, and 50,000 from another source not specified. *The King of Bohemia told the Ambassador, in conclusion, that he understood his most Christian Majesty purposed approaching the frontiers, in which case he wished for an interview with him, requesting the King to send one of his gentlemen to meet him on the road, in the territory of the Duke of Wurtemberg; wherefore his most Christian Majesty had despatched M. de Sipierre; and when I asked him whether he knew what the King of Bohemia wanted, he said, "Certainly not," adding, with a laugh, "It cannot but be something of importance;" and then, continuing, he said, "The Marquis Albert remains in Germany well satisfied, and writes me the most loving letters in the world, continuing to assure me that should I need infantry or cavalry I am to let him know, as he will bring me more than I want."*

I also asked the King what was brought by a courier who had come in haste from Rome, and he answered me, "The Pope is in distress, these Imperialists having pushed forward, but he has 16,000 infantry, and has no cause to fear, nor, according to my promise, will I fail him, so far as possible." Thereupon I said that the Pope's need seems very imminent, so that I knew not how assistance from his Majesty could arrive in time.

The King rejoined, "I certainly cannot do more than what is possible, but will not fail him with regard to money; the deposit is already made, and his Holiness can make use of it, and now also I will place a certain sum at his disposal, either on account of the said deposit or in addition to it, at the Pope's option, as I do not choose to fail him, and I believe I am doing what is agreeable to all the Princes of Christendom." He told me besides that his Holiness had commenced laying aside the violent language habitually used by him, having answered the Duke of Alva very becomingly, "and to tell the truth" (said His Majesty) "I had this office performed with his Holiness, as that mode of proceeding did not seem to me at all praiseworthy." So I requested his Majesty to let me know what he thought would be the end of this stir, as the advices varied so

1556.

greatly that it was impossible to form a complete opinion (*intiero giudicio*).

His Majesty replied, "Such is assuredly the case, for whenever a hot advice arrives it is followed by a colder one, and sometimes they even make me remain in suspense, *though to tell you the truth I do not believe that matters will advance very far, both because I never thought that the Imperialists having seen that I should defend the Pope, his Holiness would attack the Emperor, and still less do I believe it now, since the departure of his Imperial Majesty, who, in truth, made all these motions with his council* (si perche non ho mai giudicato che vedendo Cesarei che volea difender il Pont^{co}, che egli volesse romper la guerra con sua M^{ta} Cesarea, et meno io lo credo adesso che sua Cesarea Maestà è partita, la qual per il vero faceva Lei con il suo cons^o tutti questi moti) ; *but at any rate they will not find the Pope unprovided, and we shall wait to see.*" I then inquired, "In case of any rupture (qualche disconcio) between the Pope and the King of England, would your most Christian Majesty consider the truce broken?" He replied, "The Imperialists would fain persuade me to the contrary, but I answer them that I know not whether they would see it in this light were I to seek to overpower any of the parties mentioned in the truce as their nominees, like the Pope and his family find themselves included amongst mine."

As his Majesty continued conversing so freely, I, in order not to lose the opportunity, asked him in what state the affairs of the Duke of Parma were. He said, "The current reports have caused me some suspicion, but as I know the Duke Ottavio to be a man of honour, and likewise his whole house, but himself in particular, I have always been hard to believe that he would forfeit his honour, and by so much the more as my treaty with him speaks very clearly, and says that he and all his brothers are to be in my service *contra quoscumque*, with the exception of the See Apostolic, nor may they ever make an agreement or compact (*compositione*) with the Emperor or his son, even should they restore Piacenza, without my consent and especial leave; and the Duke ordered Virginio Orsini, who came hither lately, to tell me he would never do anything unworthy of his honour, and that he was always staunch for my service, and he made a similar announcement to the Pope, and sent him 200 of his cavalry; but I have despatched Forenoë (*sic*) to him, from whom I have as yet no reply, but expect it in a few days; and to tell you freely what I have in my mind, I am of opinion that had the Duke wished to form some resolve he would not have so long deferred it; but we will await the end, though should he bear me ill-will he would be in the wrong, as the world has seen what I have done for him, nor have I given him any cause of complaint."

After thanking the King for so long a communication, I told him it was reported that the Ambassador from Ferrara had arrived, and he replied, "It is true, but he is in Paris with the Prince, nor have I yet seen him; the which Prince is very ill, with double quartan ague." I inquired whether the Duke had yet decided; and he replied, "I do not yet know, but we are so linked together that he cannot fail, but neither can a man's nature fail to show

1556.

itself," alluding to his being very close (*stretto*) where his profit was concerned.

Morette, 2nd September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 4.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 6 B.

596. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday Don Pirro went to the Pope for the reply, as his commission compelled him to depart. His Holiness said that on the following Wednesday he would give it. On that same day I had a copy of the letter which he brought to the Pope in Spanish,* and the translation, together with the Spanish copy of the one written to the College of Cardinals. The contents of the letter to the Pope are in substance such as given in my last, except the paragraph about the Duke of Alva's referring himself for the adjustment of these disputes to the Italian Princes.

I subsequently received your Serenity's letters of the 28th ulto., desiring me to let his Holiness know that to preserve your friendship with all parties you had conceded passage to 4,000 Germans at the request of the King of Spain. I sent to ask for audience yesterday, which the Pope appointed for 12.30 p.m., when I found him discoursing at table. He greeted me with a joyful countenance, saying I was to go into the audience chamber, and he continued his discourse, which was one of those usually made by him against the Spanish nation, vituperating their audacity in molesting the See Apostolic without any cause, except that of plundering Rome; and addressing the Roman cavaliers, repeated what he had said to them before, thus, "These Imperialists having sacked and dishonoured you once before, think they have obtained a right to return and do the like whenever the grass has grown sufficiently to afford them a good crop by cutting it; but don't lose heart, for God is on our side, and the time will perhaps have come for taking revenge. Who knows what God will do? Persevere in fortifying this city, for it is the best thing that has been thought of for the last thousand years; should it be necessary we will come with you to carry the barrel (*barilla*), as for the honour of this Holy See, and for the liberty of this city, we are prepared to risk our life a thousand times, were it granted us to be born again a thousand times; nor do we regret the cost of so good a work, to which we will make all the Papal States contribute, it being very fair for the members to assist the head. These Imperialists (*costoro*), alas, can no longer be tolerated; remember the injuries and shame inflicted on you by them, and that will suffice to rouse you from sleep; nor shall we otherwise consider you Romans, but men of the vilest nation in the world; in my opinion the contumely (*lo stratio*) is worse than the loss." His Holiness then commenced abusing the Imperialists according to his custom, calling them heretics, schismatics, a mongrel race of Jews christened a week ago

* An English translation of this letter may be read in "Foreign Calendar, Mary," pp. 249-251.

1556.

(*sangue misto d'Hebrei batezzati da otto giorni*), who have encouraged heresy, and are so clearly convicted that what they have already done suffices for depriving them of Empires, Realms, and States; saying that it merely remained to make the publication, adding many other things of the sort so often written by me.

On rising from table the Pope passed through the audience chamber, and having made me a sign to wait, entered the library and sent for the reverend Bozzuto* and Aldobrandini, which last when following the Pope into the library was accosted by the secretary of Cardinal Cueva, who made some demand in his master's name; and Aldobrandini, drawing him towards the window where I was, said to him in a very loud voice, "Write to your Cardinal to do me the favour to tell the Duke of Alva that by what he says in his letter to the effect that the protest made by me lately in Consistory was foul, iniquitous, and rash (*brutta, iniqua, e temeraria*), he lies by the throat (*se ne mente per la gola*).” The secretary being astounded went away, and Aldobrandini, drawing yet nearer to me said, "Old as I am, would to God that I could end the disputes with this Duke with sword and tabard (*con la spada e cappa*); should the affair proceed I will let him see what I can do, and will disclose to the world his wickedness, and that of his master.” He then added "I ardently desire the return of Cardinal Caraffa, and an hour's delay seems to me a thousand years.” In the meanwhile the Pope had a slight attack of dysentery, which detained him so long that the Cardinals of the Inquisition were kept some time waiting; so on coming out of his chamber he sent for me, and said, "You see our occupations, some of which, moreover, are unexpected; excuse us, and be pleased either to wait or to return on Saturday, as tomorrow Consistory assembles.” I replied that as I thought his Holiness would be tired after the Inquisition, I would return on Saturday, preferring his convenience to everything else.

From what I have heard through several good channels, from Cardinals well affected towards your Serenity and my friends, the Pope entered Consistory to-day in a great rage, and without giving audience to anyone, commenced saying that he was but too much harassed by these enemies of God; that at first he had held the Duke of Alva in some consideration, although he did not know him even by sight, because his grandfather had been a great man, but now deemed him the silliest person living (*il più da poco che viva*), so ignorant and inconsiderate that if he had to fight him he should anticipate certain victory by reason of his stupidity (*lapocaggine*). His Holiness said that, by Count Valentino, Alva had written certain frivolous things to him, and wishing to reply advisedly, not choosing to call Consistory daily, he appointed four Cardinals, of whom, the Pope said, "we have greatly to complain, as they never said anything; nor can we but think ill of their disposition, and that they bear but little love towards this Holy See. The Cardinals are the 'Decano' [Bellai], Carpi, Morone, and Saraceno.

* In Navagero's Report of Rome (p. 391), the name of this Neapolitan is written Bozzuto, and the Florentine braggart who accompanied him to the Pope is there called Silvestro Aldobrandini. They and a certain Monsignor della Casa were the chief firebrands who kindled the war described in this correspondence.

1556.

"We nevertheless replied, as God inspired us, and subsequently the Duke sent Pirro (we do not know whether he is descended from the King of the Epirots) with a letter, the most accursed that ever was read; arrogant, false, without substance, and without nerve, which we believe has been seen by everybody, for we understand that it is almost in print (*perchè intendiamo ch'è quasi in stampa*); and another to the College." This last he had read, adding, "We will reply, and as these four who were appointed by us did not do their duty, we have convoked you all, that even the juniors may ponder, and suggest something in congregation, which shall be assembled by us in two or three days; confer together, and discuss the matter. In the College you have an uncle of that Duke, and one of his kinsmen, namely, S. Giacomo and Pacheco; see if there is any mode of adjusting these difficulties with dignity—we no longer say for ourselves, as the Imperialists (*costoro*) outrage us, but for the See Apostolic,—and that they guarantee us against attack; as if we disarm, they who have usually a standing army might do the like in a few days; for should means be found, we would accept any fair agreement, nor would we mind (*e non ci curaremo*) releasing the prisoners, although they deserve fire and sword; and we moreover wish you to decide whether they have now made war on us, for we are informed that in the direction of Ponte Corvo and of Tagliacozzo they have crossed into our territory to carry off cattle."

When the Pope had finished, the right reverend "Decano" [De Bellai] rose to speak, but the Pope told him to hold his tongue. His right reverend lordship prayed the College to beseech his Holiness to let him say but two words, but the Pope again enjoined silence, and after giving the bishopric of Nepi to Fra Michiele of the Inquisition, he dismissed Consistory. One of these Cardinals tells me that San Giacomo and Pacheco told him they will go and tell the Pope that if he on his part will assure the Duke of Alva that he will not molest their Sovereigns' territories, they, S. Giacomo and Pacheco, will induce the Duke to give similar assurance in such form as possible, the only three modes which occur to them being either hostages, or merchants' securities, or a promise from the Italian potentates; but they doubt obtaining any good result, as matters have proceeded too far.

Rome, 4th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

597. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of Spain returned to this town two days after he had accompanied the Emperor to the place where his Imperial Majesty embarked for Zealand, in which same place the Emperor gave him his blessing, and their Majesties took leave of each other with many tears. Since then the Emperor, together with the Queens, is residing on one of the islands of Zealand, called Arneimuiden (*Dermuiden*), where the harbour is, and the ships destined to take him to Spain, are in number fifty-one, and will be joined by a

1556.

number of merchantmen; nor is anything awaited but a fair wind, the present one being foul.

The Prince of Orange is said to have been commissioned by the Emperor to give positive notice of his departure for Spain to the Electors of the Empire, and to exhort them to hold the King of the Romans in the same account as they did the Emperor in person. Some persons attribute the Prince's delay to his having been rather unwell; some to his having had an express order not to set out until quite sure that the Emperor and all the ships are at sea; the Bishop of Arras likewise being desired not to send the seal to the King of the Romans until certain that his Imperial Majesty has set sail; whereupon the Vice-Lord-Chancellor of the Empire, and the secretaries, who are already dismissed, will depart, they having declared themselves authorised by the Emperor to enact several privileges before his departure for Zealand (*jino che ella non sia partita per Zelanda*). On the King's return, the ambassadors accredited to the Emperor, with the exception of the Nuncio, who took leave, went to tell him that they had been commissioned to remain with his royal Majesty; and I also performed the like office, saying your Serenity had desired me not to leave him until the arrival of the most noble Surian already appointed to his Majesty, who told me that as the Pope had said so publicly that he would deprive him of the kingdom of Naples, he had sent orders to the Duke of Alva not only to march to the frontiers, but to enter the territory of one who sought to injure him, and that owing to the crisis in Italy, he thought of sending for the ambassador accredited by him to your Serenity to obtain some information.

The Abbot of San Saluto [Parpaglia Vincenzo] has arrived here from the Court of France, to continue his usual custom of talking about peace with one King and the other, and also because he was commissioned by Cardinal Caraffa, at the hour of his departure, to let the ministers here know that if they will be the first to suspend hostilities, the Pope will do the like, and they will settle the disputes by negotiation.

The French Ambassador, also, went immediately to the King, making a similar statement, telling him that his most Christian Majesty offered himself as mediator for this negotiation, and had given him orders not to talk about peace with Don Ruy Gomez until he heard that a commission had been sent to the Duke of Alva to suspend hostilities. King Philip answered him, and Don Ruy Gomez gave the same reply to the Abbot, that he was most anxious for peace, and that if the King of France would undertake to bring things to such a pass as not to cause apprehension about the kingdom of Naples, he was content to charge the Duke to desist from war.

The Abbot told me that he had assured Don Ruy Gomez that the Cardinal of Lorraine had given him his word that the King of France would consent to make peace with the King of Spain; placing the Duke of Savoy in the State of Milan, his Excellency renouncing the rest of Piedmont and the county of Nice; and that Savoy be given to one of the sons of the King of France, with a daughter of the King of Bohemia for wife, their heirs to be always Dukes of Savoy; and that his Majesty would give his sister to the

1556.

present Duke, whose children were to succeed in like manner; and, in default of heirs to either one or the other, such rights as their Majesties now have to revert to them. Don Ruy Gomez answered the Abbot that when an arrangement shall be made in earnest (*de dovero*) for discussing the peace, the answers will be so reasonable that both their Majesties may be satisfied with them; nor would he proceed to farther particulars, because the French Ambassador told the King that until the affairs with the Pope are settled nothing was to be said about peace.

Three days ago a servant of Don Antonio [De Zuñiga?] came hither to inform the King that when intending to cross into Spain his master was arrested, as an act of reprisal for the seizure there of a Frenchman, said by the Spaniards to have been detected at Fonterabia secretly making plans of that town; concerning which matter the French Ambassador was spoken to, first by Ruy Gomez, and then by the King, showing him that this was done illegally; but although Don Antonio is one of his Majesty's chief gentlemen, it is nevertheless said that according to the agreement the truce cannot be broken for the sake of one or two private individuals.

The agent of Genoa tells me that the mission thither of Don Juan de Ayala was not (as he had been given to understand) so much for the purpose of visiting the Signory there and Prince Doria, as to devise some means, when conversing with that Prince, whereby to give the fleet a real commander (*un vero capo*) in lieu of his Excellency, as Marc'Antonio dal Carretto did not command it, and Gio. Andrea, son of the late Zanettino Doria, commanded his (*le sue*) [galleys?] imprudently; it being of consequence at the present time to have the said fleet united, either to send it to succour Oran as intended, or as assistance for the affairs of Italy in case the King of France, declaring himself in favour of the Pope, should choose to send his fleet to harass the kingdom of Naples.

Ghent, 4th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4.
Lettere del
Collegio,
(*Secreta*).
File No. 20.

598. THE DOGE AND COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

By the authority of the Senate charge him to communicate, as usual, the enclosed advices from the Levant.

Vigore partis diei 3 sup̃ti.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

599. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The advices received from Naples, dated the 1st, state that the Duke of Alva was gone out of that city, and had sent the artillery towards San Germano, the troops on the frontiers being still re-inforced; so here they continue to increase their forces, and the drummers perambulate the city daily, shouting "who will take [earnest] money (*chi vuol toccar danari*); and they are diligently fortifying. As Trastevere likewise is to be enclosed, those palaces which were to have been thrown down are made to contribute

1556.

heavily, including the habitations of the Farnese family,* of the Prior of Rome, and many others, who are paying thousands. The cavalry of Parma and Mirandola, in number 150, have entered Rome, and in like manner yesterday the infantry and 50 horse from the Duchy of Urbino made their entry; all of which are considered good troops, and have been quartered in Trastevere, the Gascons being removed from thence, their consummate insolence exceeding that of the other soldiers; as they rob, murdering the men and ravishing the women, some serious disturbance is apprehended daily.

I understand that the Pope has taken very much amiss the agreement made by the Farneses, and dissembles it, this not seeming to him the fitting moment; nor can he tolerate that, when they were about to conclude with the King of Spain or had already done so, they sent word to him by an envoy that they had not yet done, nor would they do anything without his Holiness knowing and approving of it; which instruction (*istruzione*) having been shown to him by Duke Octavio's agent, the Pope kept it for himself, as it was signed with the Duke's own hand, nor would he give it back. The same agent has now returned to give account of the conclusion, going daily for audience, and to-day I saw him in the ante-chamber, where after waiting a long while he was dismissed, being told to return.

Rome, 5th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

600. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When I went to-day to the audience appointed me by the Pope, his Holiness said to me, "Magnifico Ambassador, you must have heard what we did yesterday in Consistory for the sake of administering a handful of correction to the Cardinals for these proceedings of theirs, saying we have a bad opinion of them, because when there is such danger of the greatest conflagration the world ever witnessed, they seem neither to care about it nor to give it a thought. We told them, almost in form of a protest, that we wished for their opinion as to whether these enemies of Christ, by invading and plundering our territory in the direction of Ponte Corbo and Tagliacozzo, have made war, or whether we are to expect something greater, besides the famous libel sent to us by that Duke of Alva, I mean his letter, of which you must have had a copy; it being so contemptuous and asinine (*tanto trascurata et asinesca*) that we may tell you we are fortunate in having to do with a most insolent and foolish man, and a simpleton (*cum homine insolentissimo, stultissimo, con un da poco*). This morning, one of the Cardinals wrote us a letter on this subject, but it does not satisfy us. We would fain have peace, but to enable us to obtain it we will so add to our forces as to defy the enemy's attack, and by so doing we think to do our duty by this gift received from above; and on the other hand, what is due to you and the other Princes of Italy, who would be

* This mention of the Farnese palaces corroborates the contents of the note at the foot of Cardinal Pole's letter, to which I have assigned the date of 15th September 1556 (see p. 618).

1556.

weaker (*li quali sareste più deboli*) were we through our stupidity to allow them to occupy this State. We have put up with the insolence of these Imperialists (*di costoro*) and will still continue to do so, from the respect we owe to this sacred office, until the whole world shall say, 'What is this silly fellow the Pope doing, that he does not avenge the injury (*che fa questa bestiola del Papa che non si risente?*)—what is he waiting for?' and then we will go at them (*et all' hora daremo dentro*), and make them know that the delay will not have been for lack of courage, and we hope in God that He will assist us against these enemies of His, *qui fidem catholicam penitus evertere cupiunt*. His Divine Majesty has chastised other similar offenders; we hope He will do the like by them also, and who knows but that He may choose it to be in our time? His Majesty knows that this is contrary to our wish, as we desire peace, and would shed our blood for it."

Thereupon I said, "Holy Father, I will hope for the best, as is also hoped by the most Serene Signory since my announcement of the return of Messer Domenico del Nero, and that a person was expected in the name of the Duke of Alva, as it is not credible that the Lord God should leave your Holiness' desire for peace ungratified. His Divine Majesty will miraculously cause your Beatitude, though your extreme prudence, to find means for the adjustment of everything." "Christ grant it!" said the Pope; "but as we have told you heretofore, however much we cudgel our brains, it is impossible for us to imagine any form or way whereby to enable us to put trust in them; it would be folly were we to negotiate with this Duke of Alva; his Princes are far away; nor can we place trust even in them, for the father never kept faith (*non hebbe mai fede*), of which the son may be supposed to have still less. On the word of the Duke of Alva we will never rely, as, were he to break it, the Imperialists (*coloro*) would say, 'Why did the Pope believe him?' or, 'He (Alva) was his (the Pope's) minister; we know nothing farther, go to him and get redress.'

"This is the state of the case; should they touch us—but what use is it saying, should they touch us, when they have already done so?—we will turn the whole world against them, and the conflagration will be such as to consume everybody, so that there will be need for *unusquisque consulat rebus suis*, as, seeing this opportunity, even the Turk will arm him in like manner, and perhaps come overland; should this flame be kindled, there will be no one at liberty to extinguish it."

To this I replied, "Holy Father, by so much the more have I good hopes, as, with these eyes which see everything, your Holiness ponders the infinite misery which would result from such a war." The Pope rejoined, "What would you have me do? that I should allow myself to be annihilated? we have too many examples of their impiety before our eyes; they have also demanded from the Signory passage (*il passo*) for German troops." "Yes, Holy Father," said I, "for 4,000 men, and the Signory, choosing to remain neutral, could not refuse it, and has commissioned me to inform your Holiness." "Answer them," said the Pope, "that *boni consulimus* (*sic*), as we believe that they will not fail doing the like by us."

1556.

I replied, "Most Holy Father, the Republic will never fail to act as becomes its respect for this See Apostolic, and especially for your Holiness individually, and according to the Signory's wish to remain at peace with all parties."

The Pope said, "We choose to believe it, and if they concede these things (*et se le danno*) to the enemies of Christ and of Italy, why should they not give them to us for the defence of the religion and of this afflicted province? and were they to do otherwise, we would make ourselves heard in such a manner as becoming." And here, most Serene Prince, the Pope's countenance, and pronouncement of these words, displayed evident dissatisfaction at this passage-permit.

His Holiness added, "We pray God to inspire the Republic to direct herself well, and to do what shall be expedient in so great a conflagration as this will be; and that she may be the better able thus to do, we tell you that on the arrival of our nephew the Cardinal we shall know what will be in our power, as although the slightest offer made us by the King was that of coming in person to our assistance, as one who is a friend in deed, and not merely in word, and who has been exalted by God that he may oppose these other accursed heretics, yet are there certain things which cannot be sent through couriers or other persons, but will be announced by the Cardinal, who, through the familiarity contracted by him with the King, has discovered the heart of his Majesty, who, when he gave him leave (as told us by a person who was present, and came over-land express,) wept abundantly; and we shall have the means for raising a larger and braver army than the Imperialists (*che loro*), in addition to which (although they do not expect it) they will have work to do elsewhere than here; we promise you that they will have turmoil in every quarter." And putting his hand to his heart, he said, "Believe us, for we know what we tell you." With this he dismissed me.

Rome, 5th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

601. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbot of San Saluto tells me he went to day to complain to Don Ruy Gomez that the Bishop of Arras had had it intimated to him that he was to depart from this Court as soon as possible, informing him that otherwise he would be dismissed with little honour to himself, having come without any apparent commission, either from Cardinal Caraffa or the Cardinal of Lorraine (*què di quello di Ghisa*), to negotiate so important a matter as that of the peace; telling him that if such was the case, his Majesty chose him to depart to-day. Ruy Gomez entered the King's chamber forthwith, and coming out again immediately, answered Parpaglia, not only that such an order had never been given by his Majesty, but that he was very glad he had taken the trouble (*pigliato cura*) to come hither and treat about a matter so necessary for the advantage and honour of Christendom, saying he could not believe that the Bishop of Arras had sent to tell him things of such a nature, and charging

1556.

him not to depart, and to suggest what he thought suitable for the conclusion of the peace. The Abbot told me that to free the King from the present suspicion about the affairs of Naples, through fear of the Duke of Paliano, and to compensate the Pope and Duke for that Duchy, he suggested giving him Sienna (the Emperor having given him authority over the affairs of that city); and that Paliano should remain under the Church, on condition that Mare' Antonio Colonna be allowed to exercise his rights. To this proposal Don Ruy Gomez replied that he was to go back to France, and tell Cardinal Caraffa that should his most Christian Majesty determine to give Mont' Alcino and other places dependent on Sienna to the Duke of Paliano, an answer would then be given him; and the Abbot told me that he was to go again to Ruy Gomez about the matter of the Duke of Savoy, as written by me yesterday, and then depart immediately for France.

To-day the King desired Don Cæsar (the brother of the Marquis of Pescara) and the Count of Landriano to hold themselves in readiness to return postwise to Milan, as he has given several orders for the benefit of that state, at the request of the said Marquis and the Cardinal of Trent, in case the King of France break the truce in order to favour the Pope. To the Count of Landriano he has given the town of Pandino with 800 crowns rental, and to Gio. Batta. Gastaldo he has conceded the favour of transferring to his son his company of men-at-arms; whilst to the Santa Fiora (Sforza) family, for their deserts, 6,000 ducats annual revenue have been given for partition amongst them; 6,000 more being divided between Mare' Antonio Colonna and his mother. Count Mansfeldt has come here on parole, having lodged security for 25,000 ducats with the Frenchman whose prisoner he was, to ask the Emperor, before his departure, for pecuniary assistance, or for some prisoner to pay his ransom with, he having been captured in the Imperial service; so his Majesty, being well satisfied with Mansfeldt, sent word to King Philip to provide for him.

The French ambassador is now negotiating the release of the Duke de Bouillon, by giving almost the same ransom as was paid by the Constable's son; but the demand made by King Philip was 80,000, which he reduced to 70,000, destined by him for the Duke of Savoy, as compensation for the expenses incurred by him heretofore when General, and for his other credits; but the ambassador would not promise farther, Madame de Valentinois, the mother-in-law of the Duke de Bouillon, having written to him that she could not exceed 40,000.

Some days ago the Duke of Savoy went to Brussels to persuade the deputies of Brabant (who had assembled there, not having chosen to come into Flanders, to avoid infringement of their privileges) to contribute a donative demanded for the King, as the other states had already done, and to treat the mode of defence of these provinces, in case of war with France. From what his Excellency writes, he found them very determined (*molto pertinaci*) not to consent to the demand, saying they have requested to see the accounts of what has been already expended, and the reform of the courts of law; for which reasons the Duke has been unable as yet to despatch this

1556.

business, and he writes to the King that their obstinacy is such that he suspects his Majesty will be compelled to go back to Brussels if he wish to make them change their bad intention.

It is asserted by a Spaniard who has come from Zealand, being in the service of the Emperor, that his Imperial Majesty was heard to say, that unless the weather now become quite fair for his voyage to Spain, he has resolved, not to come back either to Ghent or Brussels, but to proceed in preference to England to await a fair wind there; which words confirm the opinion always entertained by many persons that his Imperial Majesty purposes effecting something in that kingdom for the benefit of his son.

Ghent, 5th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

602. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning the King heard from the Emperor that the weather gave signs of being fair for his voyage to Spain; so his Royal Majesty said that although he had taken his last leave of his Imperial Majesty, he will go postwise to-morrow to see him. The Spaniards announce that the money-bargain with the delegate from the feudatories of the Indies has been concluded in the form told me by Don Bernardino de Mendoza, as mentioned in my former letters. Yesterday the King's confessor and some other ecclesiastics were sent for into the Council of State to consult about what provision could be made in case the Pope excommunicate King Philip, lest the inhabitants of these provinces either become over-alarmed on this account, and do not yield him that obedience and those subsidies which they do at present, or else alienate themselves from the Church in such a form that it would then be difficult to make them return to the obedience of the See Apostolic; nor is it known as yet that any resolve has been formed.

The French ambassador has told Don Ruy Gomez, as he moreover tells everybody else indiscriminately, that he is commissioned by his King to let King Philip know that if he breaks with the Pope, his most Christian Majesty will not fail to give his Holiness every assistance in his power. The ambassador from Ferrara has been commissioned not to leave this Court according to his first orders, but to remain with the King until he goes to England.

Ghent, 5th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

603. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

[First invasion of the Papal territory by the Imperialists.]

Captain Flaminio della Casa arrived this morning from Paliano express, with news that yesterday, at 6.30 p.m., Ascanio della Cornia with three cornets of horse invaded the Papal territory, stripping the company of Trentacoste-da-Camerino, capturing the captain and ensign (the company being on its march from Poffi (*sic*) to Veruli), and Poffi and another unimportant place surrendered themselves. The Duke of Alva is at Ponte Corvo. The Urbino troops

1556.

are now marching out of Rome, and it is said that Gio. Anto. Torazzo, who in Ascoli, will be ordered to make a diversion in the Imperial territory.

Rome, 6th September 1556, 2h. 30m. p.m.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

604. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French ambassador, having received a courier from France, went immediately to the King, telling him that his most Christian Majesty, having heard that the Duke of Alva had got free commission to attack the Pope, suggested two things for the consideration of the King of Spain, before the Duke proceeded to extremities, the one being that he offended God by offending His Vicar, the other that he thus gave cause for breaking the truce, the continuation of which seemed impossible, as the King of France chose to assist the Pope, the King of Spain, on the contrary, being determined to harass him; so he must not be surprised if in Piedmont, Corsica, and on these frontiers his King make such provision as usual on suspicion of war.

His Majesty replied that the abusive language uttered by the Pope, and what he had done against the Emperor his father and himself, had before now given cause for sending such orders to the Duke of Alva; that by now moving with reason against his Holiness he did not believe himself to be committing an offence against God; and that with regard to the truce, having sworn to it religiously, he would observe it inviolably until compelled by necessity to do the reverse, in which case he hoped, with God's assistance, to preserve his own States and injure those who sought to injure him.

The ambassador performed the same office with Don Ruy Gomez, who made him the same reply.

A courier also arrived yesterday from Spain with letters from the Princess, the Emperor's daughter [Regent of Spain], and from his sister the Queen of Portugal, purporting that the Turks and Moors had taken a citadel near Oran, of which fortress they give a bad account, as by sea it is blockaded by 40 Turkish galleys and 20 other vessels, and the Moors surround it on land.

The Queen's letter is written in very strong terms, expressing regret and surprise that neither of their Majesties should have taken to heart the transmission in due season of the necessary supplies, and that what the Catholic King conquered with so much difficulty* should be so easily lost.

These advices also announce the preparation making by M. de Vendôme on the borders of Navarre for the recovery of that kingdom, which the Spaniards consider a manifest proof of the intention of the King of France to break the truce, and since the arrest of Don Antonio de Zuñiga the French have seized four or five other honourable Spanish gentlemen.

* For an account of the taking of Oran by Cardinal Ximenes in the year 1509, see Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella" (vol. 2, chap. 21).

1556.

Several letters brought by this same courier mention great mortality in Seville from pestilential fever, and scarcity of grain at Granada and other places in Spain, where wheat cost from 8 to 10 ducats the "*sona*." The inhabitants of Aragon request the King to send them an Italian viceroy, not choosing any longer to be governed by a native of Castille. The Bishop of Arras has gone to Zealand, Queen Maria having sent for him. Queen Eleanor has a violent fever, and all I hear of the Emperor is that he will make the voyage with the first fair wind, and that he has sent for a good quantity of biscuit, much of the supply shipped lately being exhausted. The King will not go to him, the weather having ceased to be favourable for his passage.

Ghent, 7th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

605. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbot of San Saluto writes to Cardinal Pole that the affairs of the peace between the Emperor and King and his most Christian Majesty are proceeding so as to promise hope of adjustment.

The Queen, thank God, is so well that for several months she has not been better, as, besides health, her cheerful mien (which was not the case previously) shows that she is very sure of her consort's speedy return, this having been confirmed to-day by the illustrious Legate, on the authority of advices which have made both one and the other entertain this belief, though hitherto private letters, on the contrary, allude rather to delay and procrastination.

London, 8th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

606. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador from Ferrara returned to his most Christian Majesty, and so brings back word that his Duke seeing the difficulties raised by his most Christian Majesty in fulfilling the agreement conceded him, he believed it for his advantage not to exceed the terms proposed him by the King; and as his Majesty thinks it detrimental for him to execute the aforesaid agreement, he remains content.

There arrived subsequently Signor Eucherio San Vitali, sent to his most Christian Majesty by the Duke of Parma, with the agreement stipulated between the King of England and his Duke, to the effect that the King gives him Piacenza and its territory, reserving the Castle, whose garrison will be paid by the Duke; and he also restores that part of the Parmesan territory which was held by his Majesty, the Duke being bound to destroy the fortresses there, with the exception of Borgo-San-Donino, and having permission to keep any amount of garrison he pleases, both in Parma and Piacenza, the Marquisate of Novara being also restored to him, the Bishopric of Monreale to Cardinal Farnese, and all her revenues to the Duchess; his Excellency's son going to reside at Milan, with a promise that they will give him for wife one of the daughters of

1556.

the Duke of Florence. The Signor Eucherio then added that the Duke had commenced this negotiation about a year ago, but that it was never on the point of adjustment until within the last month, as his Excellency had informed his most Christian Majesty, who might rest assured that the Duke, remembering the many benefits received from him, would never do but what was agreeable to his Majesty, and that, in this resolve, he had merely promised the King of England to be neutral.

The most Christian King answered San Vitali that the Duke by commencing this negotiation a year ago had acted contrary to the treaty with him, which stipulated that he could not commence any agreement without acquainting his Majesty with it; the treaty being in like manner vitiated by the conclusion of the agreement, which, according to the articles of the treaty, he could not effect without his Majesty's leave; that his Majesty knew that had not Hironimo da Campeggio been so seriously indisposed at the court of the King of England, the resolve would have been formed even sooner; and that with regard to the offers made by the Duke, his Majesty would not give any further reply for the present, awaiting facts. San Vitali rejoined, that as to the treaty he did not know its particulars, but respectfully besought his Majesty to remain with his mind at ease for six or eight months, until he should see what might be done by the Duke, who wished to be his servant.

San Vitali spoke afterwards with the Constable, who reproached him greatly with the many obligations which ought to have bound the house of Farnese to his Majesty, his discourse evincing some anger; and when performing similar offices with other personages of the court, Cardinal Chastillon [Odet de Coligny] spoke to him openly, and said how ungratefully the Duke had behaved to his Majesty, with many other words showing how much cause the King had to be angry; the which Cardinal being the Constable's nephew (*nepote*), and much in his confidence, it is inferred that he would not have uttered these words unless by his Excellency's will.

This resolve formed by the Duke is held in great account, and is supposed to have been principally caused by Cardinal Farnese, who for some time has not been trusted by this court, because the most Christian King having preferred the Cardinal of Ferrara to him, both for the protectorate of this kingdom, as also in the affairs of the Popedom, he evinced dissatisfaction; and the Constable has said repeatedly that his right reverend lordship is too ambitious; the Cardinal on his part having some time ago intercepted letters written by the Constable to Marshal Strozzi when he had the command in Tuscany, desiring him not to trust the said Cardinal, all which causes are supposed to have irritated him. But be this as it may, this resolve is held in great account; and it seems that all his most Christian Majesty's designs about the affairs of Italy are impeded, as he must not only form fresh projects for those of Tuscany, which are supposed to be in danger, but also for those of Rome and Piedmont, though as yet the only visible resolve is that shortly before the arrival of San Vitali, a courier from Ferrara

1556.

having already brought the news, an express was despatched privily to Rome, and it is believed that the Pope will make some stir against the Farnese family, whose servants here believe it, as they say that when Cardinal Farnese quitted Rome he dropped some hint of this negotiation to the Pope, who then seemed to commend it greatly, but subsequently, on hearing that it was drawing to a close, his Holiness uttered very bitter words against those lords; *and his most Christian Majesty will perhaps even urge the Pope to form some resolve, it being believed that at any rate the King will adjust (concorderà) the Ferrarese treaty; and that he has, moreover, commenced treating secretly to bring over to his allegiance the Cardinal of Mantua and the Duke, and Don Ferrante likewise, but the negotiation is considered very difficult.* A secretary of the aforesaid Cardinal Farnese has come to perform the same office with the King as San Vitali, and as when his Majesty gave him the bishopric of Cahors it was said that if at any time an opportunity offered for him to get back Monreale, he was to resign Cahors to his Majesty's Keeper of the Seal, reserving a pension on it of 2,000 crowns, he has now sent to make the aforesaid resignation.

Morette, 9th September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 11.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7, B.

607. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News has arrived that the papal town of Frosinone on the borders, in a very strong position, had been occupied by the Imperialists. This fortress, in the time of Pope Clement, defended itself against the Imperial army, but its present garrison, consisting of three companies, abandoned it because they had neither ammunition nor other defensive stores, although it was abundantly supplied with victuals for upwards of a year; and the troops withdrew to Paliano.

On hearing this intelligence, the Pope called congregation of all the Cardinals, before whom he made Pirro Offredo appear, and state his commission, which was in conformity with the letters brought by him, and sent by me to your Serenity. On going out from congregation, whilst descending the stairs, he was arrested and taken into the Castle. In Consistory the Pope announced the arrival of the Duke of Alva at Ponte Corvo, the stripping of the company of Trentasette, and the capture of Frosinone. He said that it was no longer time to talk of peace, but to provide for war, to which effect they were to arrange to give him all the assistance they could as in duty bound, most especially horses and arms. The Cardinals replied, that they would not fail to spend all they had, for his Holiness' service; and when congregation was dismissed, Cardinal S. Giacomo remained in the palace with the Pope, and Pacheco with the Duke of Paliano, to discuss the possibility of devising some form of adjustment, they promising to exert themselves with the Duke to obtain amends from him for what took place; but it does not seem that means were found for

1556.

doing any good. In the mountains of Abruzzi, the Imperialists also took all the cattle belonging to the Romans, which were there in very great number, upon trust; the Romans purchasing the right of pasturage there, and the venders guaranteeing the animals. The troops who took Frosinone, after leaving a sufficient guard there, and taking some other insignificant little places, went under Veruli, where they made an assault, which was repulsed with the loss of some of their men; but subsequently, the garrison not having the necessary stores, and their small stock of powder being exhausted, they surrendered on condition of their lives being spared; and their captain, who is considered a good soldier, by name Bargello, being made prisoner, the soldiers were locked up in a church, and after being disarmed received permission to depart; nor were the people of the town molested in any way. Persons acquainted with Frosinone and Veruli, say that had they been suitably provisioned they would have held out. The Urbino troops have been recalled into Rome by the Duke of Paliano, who sent some other companies in their stead to Anagni,* which place has been entered by Torquato Conti, a Roman gentleman who distinguished himself on the borders of Picardy when in the service of France; but not being sufficiently supplied with powder, lead, &c., its defence is considered doubtful.

Cardinal Caraffa arrived at Civitavecchia on the 7th instant, and came post-wise to Rome in the evening, when he went in his boots to kiss the Pope's foot. His Holiness evinced very great satisfaction, and embraced and kissed him a thousand times; and the Cardinal said that at a more convenient moment he would narrate to his Holiness the goodwill of the King of France towards this See Apostolic, and all the other necessary particulars. He came in two days from Antibes to Rome, with twenty galleys, and was accompanied by Marshal Strozzi (who is indisposed), M. de Lansac, the soldier Monluc (*Monluch il Soldato*), and by many French gentlemen, with eight companies of Gascons, said to be 1,500 in number. It is believed that Monluc will go and take the command of the fortresses held by the King in Tuscany; but the gentlemen will serve the Pope, as men-at-arms.

The Cardinal of Pisa has also arrived, he having accompanied Cardinal Caraffa from Lyons.

Rome, 11th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

608. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at 10h. 30m. a.m., immediately on my entering the chamber, his Holiness said to me, "Will you now give us some credit? will you at length comprehend that what we told you about the treachery of the Imperialists (*dì costoro*) is true? Is it indeed manifest to the world that they have made war on the See Apostolic? and you continue laughing at it, and allow yourselves

* There are many notices of Anagni in the Foreign Calendar, Mary, and their exactness is fully confirmed by Navagero's despatches.

1556.

to be cajoled by them, and do not perceive your ruin, which is at hand ! They demand passage for Germans, to annihilate you, and you grant it them." I said, "Holy Father, the most serene Signory could not do less, wishing to maintain the friendly terms on which she is with all parties, that being her object ; in addition to which, it would be impossible to prohibit it, owing to the roads they have in many places and in the Republic's territory, a fact of which your Holiness is aware from experience."

This argument convinced and pacified him completely, and he then continued, "These enemies of God have commenced a war to destroy the Catholic faith and the liberty of Italy, anticipating tyrannical dominion over the whole of this wretched province ; these are projects formed 40 years ago, and people are found who ridicule them. We will do what we can to prevent the attainment of this their accursed will, and we trust in God, who can assist us more than all others. The fact is, that perceiving such great carelessness on your part, and that of others, for the common weal and the impending danger, and that you remain contemplating your neighbour's misfortune, we suspect that God purposes punishing Italy for some sin committed heretofore ; as when His Majesty wills to chastise anyone, He first of all deprives them of their reason. This we choose to have told you, because to you in great part poor Italy will attribute the injury received by her ; and we leave this upon record, *Deo, cælo, elementis, et hominibus*."

"We speak to you thus, not for our own interest (as we will patch (*reppazzaremo*) that as well as we can), but for the common weal. These Imperialists bear you greater hatred than they do us. You, indeed, know what part of your territory they claim, and what we told you about the answer given by us to them, thus, that you are Venetians, and hold by right the province of Venice. Believe us, they intend to make the whole of Italy one colony, and they commence with the weakest part, because were they to commence with you they would encounter greater difficulty and general resentment on behalf of the other Powers ; but should they be able to seize the Papal States, they will attack you immediately, and whatever mischief they might do you, you would deserve yet greater. Pardon us for speaking to you in this manner, magnifico ambassador, as it proceeds from the love we bear you, and from your impending peril, and when in the midst of it you will regret not having believed us. Do you not perceive how much they possess in Italy ? the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, Tuscany, the greater part of Lombardy, Liguria—what else do they want but our State and yours, in which are the remains of the majesty and dignity of this afflicted province ! You are in a corner, with a ray of hope from the sea, like the frogs, who, when pursued by land, jump into the water."

"We know for certain that *animas surdis*, but choose to justify ourselves by having said it ; speaking with you who represent the entire body, and will, we think, write it. God knows that we love the Republic, like the State itself of the See Apostolic, and wish the Signory to rule itself well ; praying God, indeed, not to permit that when thinking to benefit ourselves you make some mistake, fraught

1556.

with your own destruction and ours, and that by putting your own head in the fire you make us also do the like. Who does not know that they have plenty of fine words, and that if you chose they would promise you whatever you could demand? You are now good and fair in their eyes, but when they have done their business, by God! they will make you pay scot ten times over (*per Dio che vi faran pagar il scoto a dieci doppie*). You well know their treachery, if you choose to know it. We will pass over the leagues of Cambrai, and other old stories; cannot the affair of Prevesa enlighten you? Remember how that 'White Moor' (*quel moro bianco*) treated your most powerful armada,* and then to what extremity of famine they reduced you, by refusing the promised exportation of grain,† which enormous iniquity, at the time it was perpetrated, broke our heart. Can you forget the breach of faith about Castel-Nuovo?‡ which took place by the will of God, as it led those rascally Spaniards to that miserable end which they made."

At this point the Pope, stopping short in the middle of the chamber, said, with great vehemence, "Is it possible that they will not rouse themselves, and comprehend by facts the ill-will of these" (repeating the terms used by him to me on other occasions), "as for what other purpose did they permit the increase of Luther's heresy, unless it were to depress this See Apostolic, and thus make themselves masters of Italy? and the Signory remains aloof, laughing at this (*et se ne stanno a rider*); and there are persons who believe them, and apologise for what they are doing, yet is it manifest to the world that they—and not we, as they wish to have it believed—moved the war (*hanno volto la guerra*), doing so, moreover, treacherously, as whilst giving us words here through Pirro dell' Offredo (whom we have had put in the Castle) they pushed forward and occupied the towns of the Church, as you know, by which injury they have conferred on us the benefit of showing the world that we were not anxious for the war, but that they wage it on us without any just cause. We will endeavour to defend ourselves and to hold the important places, as to attempt the protection of each village would require 100,000 infantry. We know not what end God will put to these affairs, but we indeed pray His Majesty not to allow us to deviate from His holy will, as we desire nothing else, and are then prepared to receive from His powerful hand whatever it shall please Him to send us, hoping that His infinite goodness will not choose to hold *virgam peccati*

* On the 8th February 1538, a league against Sultan Soliman was formed between the Pope, the Emperor, and Venice. On the 29th September in that year the allied fleets attacked Prevesa, but the Imperial Admiral, Andrea Doria, rendered the expedition fruitless. (See Andrea Morosini, vol. 2.)

† This suppression of the export-permits for grain from Sicily and Naples is also recorded by Paruta, part 1, p. 432.

‡ The Spaniards would not consign Castel Nuovo to the Republic until it was at the last extremity; the Venetians then refused it, and the Spanish garrison surrendered to Haridan Barbarossa in August 1539. Great part of the commanders and soldiers, who were all either killed or sent to the galleys, were present at the sack of Rome in 1527, and therefore both Paul IV. and the historian were of opinion that the Turk avenged the injuries done to Clement VII. and his subjects twelve years previously. (See Andrea Morosini, vol. 2, p. 105.)

1556.

torum super sortem justorum." I then said, "Holy Father, no better hope than this can be given us, nor will the Lord God abandon your Holiness."

The Pope then said that the Duke of Alva continued talking of peace, his Holiness adding, "as they did by means of that Offredo; they speak of peace, and wage war on us; but it is no wonder, this being the peculiar and natural conduct of these traitors, *nullum non lapidem moverunt*, even such as relate personally to ourselves, —you see the affair of the Farneses and of Ascanio della Cornia."

Knowing that the Cardinal S. Giacomo was waiting for audience, I then said that Cardinal S. Giacomo, the Duke of Alva's uncle, might produce some good effect, and comfort everybody. The Pope replied, "He can do nothing, although he seems a good friend, as the Duke acts by order of his Princes; we know it, and have had a copy of their consultations; we tell you that they intend to occupy the whole of Italy, because it does not seem to them to hold (*perchè non li par tenir*) that part which *tyrannice possident*, unless they set foot on the neck of everyone." And then, stamping on the ground, he continued, "We deeply lament that this ill-will being so manifest, it should not be credited, and therefore we fear some judgment from God, which you who by the law of nature are destined to survive us will witness, and then confess that we told you the truth." After saying that I prayed God to preserve his Holiness for many years, I asked him whether the Imperial army was brought together, and if any stir was heard of in Tuscany. He replied, "They are still mustering, and the Duke of Florence has raised certain troops, and garrisoned his places on the borders; for although *addictus* to the Imperialists (*a costoro*), he does what everybody who has territory and wishes to preserve it ought to do, by making provision in so horrible a conflagration as is kindled by these enemies of God."

Rome, 11th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

609. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Such a panic prevails in this city that everybody is endeavouring to escape, but great vigilance is used at the gates to prevent the departure of anyone. Besides the soldiers, artisans likewise are sent to work at the bastions; the monastery *del Popolo* is tottering (*è ridotto in pontelli per andar giù*), and the poor friars are also in fear for the church. The Roman Government (*questi Signori*) content themselves with holding, in the direction of the kingdom of Naples, Velletri under the command of the Duke of Soma, and Paliano, which is held by Giulio Orsini, both of whom demand succour of troops and ammunition. Last night they made the Gascons, who accompanied Cardinal Caraffa come, into Rome, and they are quartered in Borgo. Matteo Stendardo, late the Pope's seneschal, and who it is now said will have charge of the cavalry, has been to the stables of the Cardinals and marked such as he thought good ones, a proclamation having been issued for all who have horses to present them within three days under penalty of

1556.

100 crowns to the aforesaid Signor, that he may mark such as are good and desire their owners to keep them in condition, so that when wanted they may be fit and fresh (*belli et freschi*). It is said that the best will be given to the French gentlemen who came with Cardinal Caraffa, they having to serve as men-at-arms, and the others will be for the mounted harquebusiers, of whom 500 must be raised.

They are attending to pecuniary supply, and have made a list of prelates and wealthy merchants, to each of whom according to their means they have assigned two or three knightships of the Lily, the revenues of which to be derived from an increase of the gabels, and, however unwillingly, they are compelled to purchase them, in addition to which a loan of thousands of crowns is demanded from the richest of them, there being also a talk of depriving everybody of their silver utensils, and the treasurer has assured me that before touching the sum deposited in the Castle the Pope will have recourse to every possible expedient. Yesterday, the Romans having been requested to raise a certain sum of money, they in council imposed a tax of one quatrino on every pound of meat in Rome for three years, for which they will contract, and hope to derive a considerable amount. Here they are paying many more soldiers, perhaps twice as many, than those really in existence; the grade of captain is given to men who never were in action, and others who never saw a pike or a harquebuse pass for soldiers.

Cardinal Caraffa, the Duke of Paliano, Marshal Strozzi, the French Ambassador, and M. de Lansac, have frequent consultations, which are held in Cardinal Caraffa's apartments in the chamber of the Marshal, whose double tertian ague continues.

I have been to visit the Cardinals Caraffa and Pisa, by both of whom I was greatly caressed, and after offering his services both public and private, Caraffa told me of the French King's good-will towards the See Apostolic, whose eldest son he might be styled; mentioning also the great honours received by him from his most Christian Majesty, and that from time to time he had communicated the events there to your Serenity's ambassador, whom he found very affable and discreet. Pisa, after the usual compliments, told me he regretted extremely having been unable to go and speak with King Philip, as he had relied on rendering him as friendly and affectionate towards the Pope as any sovereign whatever, but that he comforted himself with having obeyed the commands of his superior.

Four days ago the secretary of Marquis Sarria, the Emperor's Ambassador, was arrested.* The cause is unknown. The Marquis left him here when he went to Sienna, and according to report letters from him to the secretary were intercepted at the Porta del Popolo, some persons saying that the secretary (who at the suit of the Cardinal San Giacomo was released this evening) had been compelled to give up his cipher.

The day before yesterday the Pope sent for Cardinal St. Angelo [Alessandro Farnese], who, leaving his attendants in distress, obeyed

* This arrest is mentioned by Sir Edward Carne (who says the secretary was tortured), date, 17 September. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 234.)

1556.

the order with great fear of being put in the Castle, but his Holiness having demanded possession of Castro, the Cardinal replied that it was not in his power to give it, as he had neither the countersign nor any authority in that State, but that he would write and send a messenger express to pray and persuade his mother and those who have charge of it to obey his Holiness, who, anticipating a refusal from them, has sent the Bishop of Pola to Duke Octavio.

The Pope's nephew, Gioan Carlo Camponesio, who slept in his chamber, has died, to the grief of the whole Court; he was learned, virtuous, and affable; his Holiness' tears were witness to the love he bore him, and as yet the vacant place is filled by Don Alfonso Caraffa, son of the Marquis de Montebello.

Cardinal S. Giacomo having spoken to the Pope after my audience of yesterday, some hopes of peace were again entertained, and a Cardinal much in his confidence, who is also my friend and anxious for quiet, sent me word that were they less obstinate here, and but for the facility with which the Imperialists see that they take everything, being also informed of the slight remedies applied here and the little provision made, which causes them to hope for much more than they intend (*non li facesse sperar di conseguir molto più di quello dissegnano*), matters might still be adjusted, nor can words express how much this is desired by everybody. In accordance with your Serenity's most prudent order I have not failed on every occasion to remind his Holiness of this peace and quiet, to which I hear on very good authority that the French ministers here exhort the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa, pointing out the forces of the enemy, their own scanty provisions, and the delay of the assistance of the men-at-arms to be expected from France; concerning which matter I will also mention that to-day Cardinal Pacheco was with Cardinal Caraffa about this affair of peace, and told a person very much in his confidence, who repeated it to me, that contrary to Caraffa's wont and to his own expectation, he found him much disposed towards peace, and that he exhorted Pacheco to speak to the Pope, as he, Caraffa, would persuade his Holiness in favour of quiet; so Pacheco determined to go to his Holiness to-morrow and urge him as strongly as he could in favour of it.

Rome, 12th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

610. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 10th instant the Emperor had the effects required for daily use on shore by everybody put on ship-board, keeping for himself his bed alone and his clocks, perceiving that the weather gave signs of being fair for his voyage to Spain, but the wind having again turned contrary, he has not yet left Zealand, where he does nothing all day but superintend the making of various little conveniences of life (*varie cosette per commodità della vita*).

The Bishop of Arras has returned from Zealand; he does not say why Queen Maria sent for him, but according to report it was for her own private service, and also for that of the Bishop himself, who wishes to be favoured at the election to the see of Cambrai on

1556.

the death of the present bishop, in lieu of whom the Provost of Ersa (*sic*) [Anversa?] has been already elected. It is also said that, as counsellor of the United Provinces, the Bishop of Arras went in the King's name to ask the Emperor's advice about the course to be taken with the deputies of Brabant, who, as the Duke of Savoy told the King on his return from Brussels, will by no means consent to contribute their share to the subsidy demanded, and on the contrary require exemption from certain ordinary taxes, using also bad language. I heard besides that he was ordered to acquaint the Emperor with all that has passed between the Pope and the King since his Imperial Majesty left this town, asking him whether, owing to what has been heard from Rome about suspending hostilities and settling matters with the Pope by negotiation, the King should repeal the commission given to the Duke of Alva to march with the army to attack him, or, continuing still to consent to talk about an agreement, remain on the defensive.

According to report the Emperor's reply was that the King must bear with those brains of Brabant, which are too obstinate (*quasi troppo ostinati cervelli di Brabant*), and by diminishing the demand end the business as well as he can; and as to the affairs of the Pope, he commended the suspension of hostilities (*deponer l'armi*), warning him, however, not to be duped by cunning.

The decision given by the King to the Abbot of San Saluto purported that he was either to go back to Cardinal Caraffa, or send him a reply to the effect that his Majesty was very content to treat the suspension of hostilities (*di deponer l'armi*), security to be given by one side and the other, and that he would write to the Duke of Alva to exert himself with the Pope's ministers to find means to that effect; and that respecting the peace with his most Christian Majesty, he would not reply to the particulars told him by the Cardinal of Lorraine, though he indeed assured him of this, that should he truly determine to send personages so that the peace might be treated, he will find greater advantage in its settlement than by giving assistance to the Pope through the breaking of the truce; the King having said the like to the French ambassador. With this resolve the Abbot departed postwise last night, and with him the Nuncio's secretary, who is subsequently to be despatched to Rome from the Court of France.

To-day one of the chief ministers of the Duke of Savoy came to see me, assuring me in strong terms (*con efficaci parole*) that he heard from the said Abbot that King Philip has told him in writing (*gli ha detto in scrittura*) that he is content that he should talk with the Cardinal of Lorraine, and also with the King of France, about making the said Duke of Savoy Duke of Milan, but on such terms as will be (to use his own words) to the taste of King Philip (*secondo il gusto di S.M.R.*)

After much conversation with me about the Duke's advantage, the satisfaction and especial convenience of your Serenity, and the quiet of Italy, he then said that now that King Philip has taken so great a step, were the State to perform such offices as her great authority and prudence would enable her to do, the matter would be supported, and not fall to the ground, as he feared would be the

1556.

case in the end, because, owing to the league between the King of France and the Pope, and the fashion adopted (*et li modi usati*) by his most Christian Majesty in pushing forward his forces, he feared that King Philip would at length lose Milan, the Duke of Savoy being thus deprived of all hope of ever obtaining compensation for what he had lost, and your Serenity likewise experiencing greater regret from having the French nearer to you than the Spaniards. He exhorted me to write to you on this subject as from myself, and not to give this intelligence as having come from him; saying, besides, that he knew that the Duke, within two days, would send to invite me to dine with his Excellency, to talk to me about this, but that being too timid, from fear of making the King suspicious of him, he would not speak to me so freely as he could wish, thinking that if I wrote on the subject it might be known at this Court.

My replies were loving and general, demonstrating in particular that your Serenity would wish the Duke, not only this, but yet greater good fortune, and thus will I regulate myself should his Excellency send to invite me.

Don Caesar, the brother of the Marquis of Pescara, departed to-day for Milan with the decision about various matters demanded by the Marquis, both with regard to his ordinary charge of military matters, and for what may be necessary in case of war with his Holiness, and should the truce with the King of France be broken; and he was told, in short, that Don Bernardino de Mendoza will be sent to Antwerp to raise a good supply of money for transmission to his Excellency.

To-morrow the departure will also take place of the Count of Landriano and Paolo Santo Fiore, who will be followed by the agents of Gio. Batt. Gastaldo and of Count del Bagno, all well satisfied with some fresh rewards received from the King, who also yesterday gave his maggiordomo, the Marquis de las Navas, 12,000 crowns, and the grade of maggiordomo of the Princess his sister. These acts of liberality are much more commended than usual, because part of the personages in question received no present from the Emperor, nor in like manner, on this his departure, did he give anything to several of his household servants (*diversi servitori della casa*), and none of the ambassadors received the usual present of chains. The Duke de Bouillon is at the point of death, which the Duke of Savoy greatly laments, from fear of losing the ransom conceded him by the King for his credits, and as reward, his Majesty not having chosen to release Bouillon for 50,000 crowns offered by the French ambassador, of whom he demanded the other day 70,000.

Ghent, 13th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

611. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I was sent for this afternoon by the King, who, on my arrival, said that in pursuance of his desire to maintain a sincere and close friendship with your Serenity (which I had assured him was reciprocated) by communicating events of importance, he wished me to

1556.

know the settlement of the business which he told me heretofore was pending with the Duke of Parma, who, having sent him a doctor of laws with the form of agreement which he wished to make, his Majesty had conceded him, besides all the other things received formerly by the Farnese family from the Emperor, the city of Piacenza, with the exception of the citadel, which fortress he had retained, more for some good reason, suggested by others, than from his own will; adding that the Duke's agent wished nothing to be said about this until the result was known of another affair which the said Duke was treating through another agent with the King of France.

After returning due thanks for this confidential communication, I said he might rely on my saying nothing about it to anybody, but that I had long ago heard the matter talked about, and since the coming of the Duke's agent, telling the King that I mentioned this merely as my own apology in case his Majesty might hear that the news had been divulged. He rejoined that he believed the matter to have been long discussed, but that the truth was that only to-day had the business been concluded, and that he had not yet signed the agreement. He then added that he would always continue to let me know many of his affairs as they occurred, in testimony of the goodwill he had to bind himself yet more closely in friendship with your Serenity, and to form a confederacy with you.

After these matters, I commenced talking with his Majesty about the state of the weather, which seemed to promise fair for the Emperor's passage; he told me it was so good that he thought his Imperial Majesty would soon put to sea, and that to-morrow morning he purposed going to kiss his hand once more before the departure, and to see those islands of Zealand where he had not yet been, and that he should be back in four days.

I then remained with Don Ruy Gomez, from whom I heard that yesterday the French ambassador told the King in the name of his most Christian Majesty that he again offered to be mediator to treat the peace between the Pope and him if he considered his most Christian Majesty good for that purpose; to which the King answered him freely, that as the King of France confessed to having a league with the Pope, he knew not how he could accept such an offer, but that nevertheless if he proposed conditions to him he would listen to them very willingly. He also told me that letters had come from the Duke of Alva to the effect that the Pope had uttered words and shown signs of wishing for a suspension of hostilities, but that his Holiness did not give indication of proceeding sincerely, not having given back to the fiscal advocate the writings received from him depriving the King of the kingdom of Naples, and the Emperor of the Empire.

In conclusion he told me that, as I might have comprehended on former occasions from his conversation and that of the King, he wished there to be an understanding and true love (*vero amore*) between his royal Majesty and your Serenity, not about things in general, but with regard to particular matters; and then, looking me full in the face with a kindly expression of countenance, he

1556.

stopped. I answered his lordship that he might always keep his mind at ease with regard to this, that your Serenity would for ever bear his royal Majesty affection and great honour, and wished him every happiness.

To this Don Ruy Gomez replied in the following precise terms: "Lord Ambassador, I am frank by nature, and as it seems to me that I am speaking with a nobleman who is sincere and will take my words in good part, I shall say that I very well know the Signory's mode of proceeding to be in truth most prudent and wise: they see four of the chief powers of the world at discord, and wish to stand well with each of them—with my King, with the King of France, with the Pope, and with Sultan Soliman; but of necessity and according to reason the Signory prefers one to the other, and knows which is best adapted to the Republic's interests; and I know that should any need ever arise, and that the Signory had to select a friend, it would be none other than the present King of Spain, both on account of the vicinity of his territories and of his own natural goodness"; and laughing greatly, he added, "You must pardon me: I have sometimes wished for an opportunity which might subject the Signory to some trouble, in order that the result may prove whether my opinion is well founded. My King must necessarily be the perpetual enemy of the Turk, from whom the Signory has more to fear than from the others, and may always have his Majesty ready with her to give assistance in case of attack. I will not speak of the Popes, because theirs is a state liable to so many changes that no true reliance can be placed in it. With regard to the Kings of France, statesmen conversant with the affairs of the world may well know that they should be held in greater suspicion than the Kings of Spain, and, leaving aside a variety of reasons, principally for this, that in like manner as the Kings of Spain are under the necessity of defending themselves against the Moors and of obtaining provinces (if possible) both in Africa and the Indies, so must the Kings of France, to gratify their wish for aggrandizement, penetrate farther into the states of Italy or of Spain."

Our conversation lasted for two hours, during which Don Ruy Gomez added many other particulars connected with those already mentioned, and also said that as I knew his statement to be true he prayed me earnestly to perform warm offices (*caldamente mi pregava a far caldi ufficij*) in favour of this alliance at present, as hereafter, should it come to pass that his King make peace with the King of France by means of some matrimonial alliance, either with or without the Milanese, it might happen to your Serenity to receive molestation such as his King would never cause you, and some accident might also arise to induce the Turk to act in like manner, so that his royal Majesty having until then received no favour from your Serenity, he could merely reciprocate by general words. He requested me to ponder this matter maturely, and to be pleased to tell him, as from myself, what the King could do for the gratification of your Serenity, so that the friendship might be knitted in another manner, his words and gestures showing that he was very well acquainted with your

1556.

Serenity's strength and prudence ; and amongst his other conceits he used the following, that he had now come to this conviction, that the friendships which his King might have with other Princes were of little consideration as compared with that of your Serenity.

After having listened to his lordship, to his complete satisfaction, I commended as seemed fit to me his noble intellect and the tenour of his discourse, his singular devotion to the King, and his love for the matters intrusted to his extreme good faith and great ability, telling him that his remembrance of past events might well convince him how great and sincere were the friendship and respect maintained since so many years by your Serenity with the Emperor, and then the very loving offices performed in conformity with the King so long ago as on his first passage from Spain into Italy, when I was sent by your Serenity as ambassador,* to say nothing of what you have done in these present troublous times, his lordship himself having told me some time ago that you refused to league with others, notwithstanding the requests made and the advantages offered you ; I on my part having told him what you did and are doing with the Pope, in favour of peace, from regard for his Majesty's affairs ; the King himself, wishing to be friends with everybody, having just now informed me that he has given Piacenza to Duke Ottavio ; and that your Serenity moreover loved peace from choice, owing to your experience derived through so many wars between Christians and Infidels, and from those which yourself had been compelled to wage with both one and the other ; wherefore you were also moved, by means of the Ambassador Vargas and Martino Alonso, and by writing to me in like manner, to exhort the Emperor and his royal Majesty to incline their minds towards this peace, of which there was no reason to despair, owing to the signs which he had told me were given by the Pope and the King of France ; and would to God that it were already made, as I differed from the opinion professed by his lordship with regard to what might befall your Serenity with the King of France and Sultan Soliman, because—omitting the fact of your having known how to defend yourself against one and the other in war and to attack them, whilst peace had been justly maintained, by you—I believed that were peace made between his royal Majesty, the most Christian King, and the Pope, the Turk would not think of troubling any prince of Christendom, still less your Serenity, against whom there would in like manner be no just reason for the King of France to take up arms ; and that by the grace of God your Serenity's forces were such and so many, both by sea and land, and your prudence in directing them so great, and your mind so constantly bent on doing Christian deeds, that I considered it certain that not only would neither one nor the other nor anybody else attack you, but rather wish you well, as an object truly worthy as you were to be universally loved and appreciated.

To my reply Don Ruy Gomez rejoined, with a cheerful countenance and kind words, that he would request two things of me, the

* Federico Badoer met the Prince of Spain at Genoa (where he landed from Barcelona on the 27th November 1548), and accompanied him through the Venetian territory to Trent. (See *Andrea Morosini*, vol. 2, p. 181.)

1556.

one that I would think about giving him the means whereby to do something agreeable to your Serenity, that you might be better acquainted with the King's good disposition, and consequently render the friendship closer; the other, to believe that his royal Majesty had so good an opinion of my sincere mode of proceeding in having always performed excellent offices, believing also that I would continue so to do for the future, that he wished for an opportunity to do something that might be agreeable to me; so, in conclusion, I said to his lordship that to do what was acceptable to your Serenity, and a real favour to me, I knew not either what else to suggest nor what else to wish for, except that he should be the instrument for despatching for me, and all your other ambassadors who from time to time may present themselves, such business as may be committed to them, with readiness and efficacy on the part of all the ministers, thus demonstrating true knowledge of his Majesty's excellent disposition and of the great wish evinced to me by his lordship for your Serenity's gratification.

Ghent, 14th September 1556.

[Italian.]

Sept. 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

612. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Signor Eucherio San Vitali, who came from the Duke of Parma, took leave of the King lately, and in the act of departure, his Majesty spoke very kindly to him, desiring him to tell the Farnese Lords that as they considered the recovery of Piacenza so advantageous for them, he was pacified (*ne restava quito*); and so far as can be heard, the King wrote in great haste to the Pope, praying him not to do any fresh act of hostility against the said Lords, this being apparently induced by the request of the Signor Eucherio that his Majesty would wait their proceedings during six or eight months, being aware that it was not for his interests that the Farneses should declare themselves entirely the servants of the King of England. Notwithstanding it is rumoured that both his most Christian Majesty and all these Lords are dissatisfied with this Farnese family; the whole Court speaking disrespectfully of the Italians, not merely on this account, but by reason of the stubbornness (*durezza*) of the Duke of Ferrara, who is heard to be treating with the King of England, to give his son the Prince of Ferrara in marriage to King Philip's widow sister, the Regent of Spain. Yesterday, I had a good opportunity for holding a long conversation with the Constable, and his Excellency, discussing various matters very familiarly, alluded to the disputes between these two crowns about the boundaries of the Monferrat territory, and when I asked if they were settled, he said no, but that these delays were beneficial for his most Christian Majesty; adding, "The King of England has proposed referring these disputes to the Signory;" and his Excellency being then silent, I, making it appear that what I heard was new to me, said, "How could his Serenity [the Doge] interfere in these matters? for to me it seems that with difficulty could he find the way." The Constable replied, "Those Lords are very sage, and

1556.

know that those who interfere between two parties who are not friends, can with great difficulty succeed."

Sens, 14th September 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Sept. 14.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
pp. 180 recto &
verso.

613. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

Although he still hopes that God of His goodness will not allow the rupture between the Pope and King Philip to proceed farther, being convinced of the good and holy disposition of one side and the other; yet nevertheless, should divine providence for the punishment of the sins of mankind have determined otherwise, Morone can easily imagine the trouble and confusion in which Pole would find himself, not knowing well what to do with regard to the constant questions which must arise between him and the King, about the spiritual and temporal government of England. In that case it would be necessary, and beyond measure acceptable, for him, through Morone, to receive notice of the Pope's will, which he cannot believe to be otherwise than excellently disposed always towards whatever may be for the comfort of King Philip and Queen Mary, and beneficial for England, whose welfare, he is very certain, the Pope has most especially at heart, and that he will always manifest this by facts. It is not to be told how much the Queen and all good and virtuous persons are distressed by the continuance of this discord; so he prays God to apply a remedy, and to grant Christendom that peace and quiet which are necessary, to enable the Pope to execute his holy projects for the service of His Divine Majesty and benefit of the Church.

Croydon, 14th September 1556.

[Italian.]

Sept. 15?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
pp. 69 verso &
p. 70 recto and
verso; no date
of time or place
in MS.

614. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [ALESSANDRO] FARNESE.

In reply to what Cardinal Farnese writes him in his own hand, showing how grievously offended he is with the Lord Camillo [Orsini] for having had the trees in his garden cut down, thus destroying well nigh all its beauty,* Pole assures him that when he first heard of this, it gave him more pain than he ever could have believed himself capable of feeling for such a loss, even had these trees been planted with his own hands; though he is aware of being very sensual (*assai sensuale*) with regard to delighting in gardens and trees; and his grief was caused, not only by that which he thought must with reason be felt by Cardinal Farnese, but because those trees seemed to him to embellish not merely the Farnese gardens, but the whole of Rome, in whose neighbourhood

* I do not know the precise date of the year of the Pontificate of Paul III. in which the Farnese gardens at Rome were designed, but the damage alluded to in this letter was probably sustained by them in September 1556, when Camillo Orsini was fortifying Rome; as in date 5th September 1556, Bernardo Navagero wrote to the Senate that amongst the palaces doomed to destruction were those of the Farnese family, but which seemed to have been ransomed at considerable cost, though from this letter it is evident that the trees did not escape.

1556.

he never remembers to have seen such tall and handsome trees, so that when he was told they had been cut down by order of the Lord Camillo, it distressed him deeply, both on account of the author of the deed, and for the thing itself; and he reproached Cardinal Farnese's dependants for not having said something to him about it sooner, they knowing how much he is Farnese's servant; not that Pole supposed his friendship with Camillo Orsino could avail more than the authority of others who might have already said something to him on the subject, but he would have been gratified by doing his utmost, as he would have done, to obtain at least a little delay, during which it might have then been hoped, by having recourse to higher authority, to remedy everything. But Camillo Orsini was so expeditious in this matter, as it is his wont to be in all his other proceedings, that he gave no time to those who would have wished to obtain a contrary result to have recourse either to the fountain-head or to other means; which, by those who know his ordinary habit, can be attributed (as he has already said) but to his natural inclination to do whatever he has to do very speedily, and, in the present instance, to his having moreover chosen to be too just. Being convinced that for the public good it was requisite to do this, and knowing that he could not secure the walls of Rome without great complaints from many persons of every description, (as it came to pass,) he thought fit to silence everybody by showing that for this same reason the garden of so exalted a personage as Cardinal Farnese had not been excepted.

Pole does not doubt but that this was the true and sole cause which moved Camillo Orsini to do what he has done in this matter, nor can Pole ever bring himself to believe that he was moved to this by a wish to offend Farnese, most especially as Camillo has often expressed to Pole his very great obligations to the late Pope Paul, and consequently to Cardinal Farnese and to the whole of his most illustrious family. It would be too difficult for Pole to suppose that he was of so ungrateful and base (and to sum up all in one single word) and of so unchristian a disposition, though possibly he may have erred in this matter as on some former occasions, thinking to do his duty regardless of displeasing those whom he otherwise would not have wished to offend; but Pole can never believe that he would have done anything for the purpose of offending Farnese, who, should he ever have heard the apology made by Camillo to Pole when he told him that by this act he had given cause to Farnese to think ill of his sentiment towards him, together with Camillo's testimony of the obligation felt by him to serve Farnese, and his justification of those acts which had a somewhat contrary appearance, Pole is convinced that from the goodness of Farnese's disposition he likewise would be induced to admit Camillo's apology, especially after reading his inclosed letter written on the subject by Pole's advice, and which, having been written so speedily and in such a form, is a sure proof, in addition to the others, that he was never otherwise disposed than becomes the affection and service due from him to Cardinal Farnese.

It now remains for Pole to request Farnese that as his letter caused him great sorrow by reason of the anger it evinced towards

1556.

Camillo, so will he now on the other hand comfort Pole by saying that he is averse to deprive himself of such fruit as might be expected from the good will of one, who considers himself so much indebted to the Cardinal, as to the person from whom he acknowledges the commencement of his honourable career and the reputation enjoyed by him in the world, on which account he offers his most ready services to Cardinal Farnese, from whose graciousness Pole expects this consolation through his next letter, and humbly kisses his hand.

[London, 15th September 1556 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

615. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the return of a courier despatched last week it will be ascertained whether the Queen's hope of her consort's return after the Emperor's departure, will prove vain, as anticipated by everybody else in the palace, or not, even Cardinal Pole beginning to be incredulous, as he told me himself two days ago. He also imparted to me his great consolation, because when some days ago 24 of the pirates lately captured were condemned to death at Southampton, inasmuch as at first, like fierce and desperate characters, they showed themselves utterly averse to have recourse to any Catholic and Christian act, by means of a Franciscan friar they subsequently repented, and died after confessing and communicating, all of them in public having not only justified (*approbata*) the present religion, exhorting and praying everybody to believe and persevere in it, but condemned the past (*la passata*), to which they attributed their death, as punishment for the licentious and execrable life led by them, without knowledge or fear of God; which has marvellously edified the whole of Hampshire (*tutto quel paese*), and greatly rejoiced the Queen and all good men.

London, 15th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

616. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The cannonading of Anagni was heard from certain heights in this city; after which, yesterday, the Imperialists made two assaults upon it, and were repulsed, with the loss of some of their men; but the Signor Torquato [Conte], seeing that they could not withstand the third, made his retreat from another part of the town, and is said to have saved himself in Paliano with the entire garrison. To-day the Imperialists are reported to have occupied Viguar (*sic*, Vicovaro?), an important place very near Tivoli.* Last night the Count di Luino, who is in Montefortino, made a foray with a few horse as far as Frascati, where there was a company of horse of the Captain Ludovico Rasponi, which on discovering the enemy, retreated to Rome; and simultaneously it

* Vicovaro was four leagues to S.E. of Tivoli.

1556.

was heard that they had occupied Cavi, Valmontone (*sic*), and that they had sent to mark the quarters at Palestrina; which news so increased the panic in this city, that all persons sent their families away; the Government gave leave for the women readily, but do not choose the men to depart, nor that property of any sort be sent out of the city. A few nights ago, the government held the people armed, and in the morning they were reviewed. Cardinal Caraffa also inspected the paid troops who are in Rome, and at the muster they numbered 6,000 Italians and 3,000 Gascons, though many of them are supposed to have been passengers (*passagieri*), that is to say, persons who appear at the muster at the request of the Captains, without performing farther service. Fifteen hundred men, Germans and Gascons, are expected, they having been taken out of the most Christian King's fortresses in Tuscany, and replaced by Italians. They have had an inventory taken of all the arms in the houses of the Spaniards, both offensive and defensive, and they say they shall disarm them, but the Cardinals S. Giacomo and Pacheco complained of this to the Pope, saying that should they be disarmed they run the risk, in case of the slightest disturbance, or should any rascal bent on robbery utter the least word, of being cut to pieces; so they demanded either that their weapons should be left them, or that they be given leave to quit Rome, and his Holiness replied that he would think about it. The Pope and Cardinal Caraffa lay the blame of the disorders which have taken place hitherto, and of the loss of so much territory, to the Duke of Paliano, to whom they spoke so harshly about it, that his quartan-ague has increased, the poor nobleman running some risk of having a dangerous illness. The Cardinal, also, is rather distressed, and the Pope greatly agitated.

These important events have caused his Holiness to give audience to the envoy from Duke Ottavio [Farnese], and to send him back with fair words, without showing any mark of resentment. The Cardinals S. Giacomo and Pacheco have not failed urging the Pope daily to make peace, so that his Holiness was content that S. Giacomo should send the Dominican friar Tomaso Mansich* (*sic*) (a very learned and authoritative person, related both to the Cardinal and to the Duke of Alva,) to the camp, to hear the Duke's demands; and he is also the bearer of a letter from the Cardinal "Decano" [de Bellai] addressed to the Duke in the name of the College; and although there has been neither Congregation nor Consistory, this is supposed to have been done with the Pope's knowledge and consent; and a person who has seen the letter tells me it is to the effect that, the College having heard that the Imperial captains administer to the places taken by them the oath of allegiance to the College of Cardinals, they cannot pass this fact over unnoticed, as their silence would imply consent, and they would render themselves schismatic, they having a most holy head (*havendo un capo S^{mo}. come hanno*), as is the fact; wherefore they wish to hear from his Excellency whether similar acts are done by his will.

This friar departed yesterday morning postwise, and it remains

* Manrique? (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

1556.

to be seen what he will bring back, many persons anticipating much difficulty about the terms, which become more advantageous daily for the Imperialists; and it will be difficult for this side to obtain what might have been had heretofore; whilst on the other hand, unless an agreement be made speedily, inevitable mischief is evident, and besides many other misfortunes, as the Imperialists are masters of the open country, it will be impossible to sow for next year, so they run manifest risk of faring very badly. Last evening, the Reverend Commendone, Bishop of Zante, came to me by the Pope's order, to say that his Holiness was sending him to Urbino, Ferrara, Venice, and Parma, to perform the same office as frequently performed by his Holiness with me, justifying his cause; showing that the Imperialists moved the war; that they sent him defamatory libels; and that whilst talking of peace to find favour with the world, they are intent on occupying the Papal territory; demonstrating the danger to which all Italy would be exposed, were this State (which God forbid) occupied; exhorting and praying the [Italian?] Princes, and above all your Serenity as the most powerful, and who had defended the religion on other occasions, to ponder the matter, and provide in time against so great a peril, not only as Christians, but as personages so greatly interested in the matter; and the said Reverend Commendone told me that he has orders to write hither what he can elicit from your Serenity. I replied that his lordship would receive good greeting from your Serenity, both on account of the Pope as also for his own personal merits, and wished him a good journey; and thus did he depart to day at noon, postwise.

Rome, 16th September 1556.

[Italian.]

Sept. 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

617. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At this very hour, 8h. 15m. p.m., news has come that this morning at 8h. 40m. the Emperor embarked; so it is believed that although the King departed hence very early and with great speed he will not have arrived in time to see his Imperial Majesty on shipboard. The Emperor did not choose anyone to go in his own vessel, except M. de la Chaulx* with 36 servants for necessary purposes (*con trentasei persone, che servono all' uso delle cose necessarie*), and for his own amusement a Fleming, by name Malineo, who reads a variety of things to him, (*et per suo trattenimento un Fiamengo nominato Malinco, che li legge diverse cose*,†) and Master Gianello of Cremona,‡ with the clocks which he made for him heretofore; and the two Queens go together in another ship.

The day before yesterday the courier Francesco Piamontese came to the King from the Queen his consort, and was sent back secretly a few hours afterwards without taking letters for anyone; and I am

* Jean Poupet, Seigeur de la Chaulx.

† The real name of the Emperor's reader was Guillaume Van Male, about whom, see "The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth," by William Stirling (3rd ed., pp. 69, 292).

‡ Alias Giovanni Torriani, alias Dalla Torre.

1556.

told by an English captain that he came to inform his Majesty that payment of the 200,000 crowns obtained by her from the English merchants being now due, should the disbursement of the money prove inconvenient to him at present, it is necessary to find means to prolong the term of the said bills of exchange; acquainting him with the great difficulty she had experienced in getting money from several private individuals, and with the loud complaints and foul language current on this account, it being supposed that she does this for the purpose of giving the money to his Majesty, thus impoverishing the country; or to make use of it herself to favour the design attributed to the Emperor of going to England, and together with her, either by persuasion or force, to crown the King (*o per via di persuasione, o con la forza, incoronar S.M.R.*); or else to induce the Parliament to wage war on France, which it does not seem inclined to do (*il qual parlamento non mostra volersi ridurre*). He told me besides that the Earl of Pembroke, who is the most powerful personage in England, and who has always shown himself inclined to serve King Philip, goes daily more and more estranging himself both mentally and also personally (*si va di giorno in giorno più allontanando, et con l'animo, et ancho con la persona*); adding that the Queen had again written very earnestly to the Pope, not only to pray and exhort him to abstain from disturbing his Majesty's affairs, but to let him know that the people of England, from this cause, are greatly encouraged to resume Lutheran opinions (*ma per farle sapere, che i popoli da ciò prendono grande ardore di ritornare nelle Lutterane opinioni*).

The Princess of Spain has sent a courier to the King with letters from the Count de Alcaudete, giving her account of what the Turks and Moors are doing at the siege of Oran, and saying what extreme need the place has of succour, declaring that unless he sent it in a few days, the place will fall into the hands of the enemy; whilst to his Majesty he writes that he will never be the bearer of such news, but that from others he will at one and the same time hear of the loss of that fortress and of his (the Count's) own life; adding that as he perceived such great delay on the part of the ministers in providing what was necessary, he had placed his hope in two things solely, the one in certain movements of troops made on those borders by the Sceriff (*il Sariffo*), who did not choose the Turks to go on prospering there; the other in a certain fear which had seized the said Turks and Moors, they having made a trench at the harbour to secure themselves, either on account of the Sceriff (*de'l Sariffo*) as above mentioned, or from doubt of some considerable succour which might come from Spain.

The Spaniards say that the cause of the delay about the supplies proceeded from the trust had by the King in the many offers made heretofore by the Cardinal of Toledo to undertake that expedition at his own cost, but which he failed to do subsequently because the King either could not or would not comply with the demands which were made of him by his right reverend lordship for exemptions and other things; so his Majesty has at length been compelled to order a levy in the kingdom of Murcia of 4,000 infantry and a certain amount of cavalry; in addition to which

1556.

supplies, the said Princess writes that the King of Portugal, at the suit of the Queen his wife, the Emperor's sister, in order not to witness the loss of Oran, has given hopes of sending the 12 caravels, 2 galleasses, and a galleon, provided King Philip can simultaneously send a certain amount of galleys to succour that kingdom; so for this purpose they last evening sent off to Barcelona a courier, who has offered to go in seven days, with letters to be sent on by a frigate to urge the immediate despatch for this purpose of Prince Doria's galleys, which are bound for Spain (*a sollecitar quelle galie dal (sic) Principe Doria, che sono destinate a dover passar in Spagna a tale effetto*).

The same courier brings news that in Navarre some persons had been discovered who favoured the designs on that kingdom of M. de Vendôme, some outlaws, also, who went thither for that purpose having been taken, and they were all hanged. One of the chief ministers says he heard from the King's own lips that he intends going in a few days to Antwerp, thinking that his personal attendance will enable him more certainly and in less time to conclude the contracts which he purposes making with the merchants, in consequence of the decision he came to with the delegate from the feudatories of Peru. At the intercession of the French ambassador, the Duke de Bouillon, in this his very serious illness, has been removed from the castle of this town and placed in an abbey with a guard of 10 halberdiers, his ransom also being diminished by 10,000 crowns; and he (*Lei*) has limited the ransom of the Count of Velasco, the brother-in-law of the Grand Constable, to 20,000 crowns; and when performing this office the said ambassador told the King, as of himself, that he hoped the disturbances of Italy with the Pope would be settled by negotiation, and his Majesty replied that he wished it, and that in like manner as he heretofore gave the Duke of Alva liberty to move war on the Pope, so had he subsequently sent him authority to treat about agreement on fair terms.

Immediately on the King's return I will execute the commission enjoined me by your Serenity's letters of the 29th ulto. concerning the damages done in the waters of Cyprus by the three galliots fitted out at Messina, and will perform the office in so earnest a manner as to give me hope of obtaining the result desired by your Serenity.

Ghent, 16th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

618. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By my last of the 14th I wrote to your Serenity what his most Christian Majesty said to San Vitali, when he took leave of him to return to the Duke of Parma, as also what the King wrote to the Pope, requesting him not to proceed to any fresh act against the Farnese family, all which was subsequently confirmed to me, with this in addition, that his Majesty also dismissed Cardinal Farnese's secretary, with the same words in substance as uttered by him to San Vitali; and as to the renunciation which the Cardinal wished to make of the bishopric of Cahors, and other benefices in this

1556.

kingdom given him by the King, he was told that there was no need to make any change for the present, as, should the Farneses on their part not fail him, his Majesty will continue performing every office and demonstration of goodwill towards their family. In order, however, not to diminish his firm and friendly relations in Italy, the King sent for the Prince of Ferrara, who, having almost recovered his health, came immediately to the Court, and according to report his Majesty will entirely adjust with his Excellency the difficulties which have hitherto prevailed with the Duke his father, who, although (as written by me) he seemed to be content with an annual pension of 50,000 crowns, to be spent as seemed best to him for his territory, and with the pay for 100 men-at-arms, yet, after this resolve formed by the Duke of Parma, his Excellency has again announced that he would then have been satisfied with that stipend, the State of Parma being as it were a bulwark for his territory, whereas now he required more substantial defence, and that, should his Majesty come to a decision, it would be necessary for him to pay the guard of 2,000 infantry, as promised him by the treaty; and from what I have heard on good authority the King will grant him the aforesaid treaty in full without difficulty, giving his Excellency what he disbursed for the garrison of Parma, which, together with the Duke's salary and that of his son, will amount to 15,000 crowns, and they will again send back his Excellency's ambassador.

The Abbot of San Saluto is at the Court of the King of England, and had communicated to Don Ruy Gomez the words uttered to him by Cardinal Caraffa about the agreement between his Holiness and the King of England, to which Ruy Gomez replied that he could not believe that Cardinal Caraffa really wished for peace; and although the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine took it rather amiss that Parpaglia should have gone away without any notice, Lorraine nevertheless has been heard to say that knowing his integrity and goodwill, he does not believe him to have gone save for some good work in favour of peace, and that they expect to hear something of importance, knowing that King Philip wishes for peace. Although Ruy Gomez uttered the aforesaid words to the Abbot, he nevertheless told the French Ambassador that his King was by no means inclined to break the truce, and that those troops who had done so in the kingdom of Naples did not purpose to offend the Pope, but to hold their own; and that as King Philip's goodwill is real, so he wished his most Christian Majesty to let the Pope know this, to quiet his mind, and possibly to find some way for laying down arms, concerning which Lorraine said that his most Christian Majesty had written to the Pope.

Morette, 16th September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

619. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few days before the Abbot of San Saluto departed hence, when talking with me about what seemed to him the most reasonable

1556.

means whereby to induce his most Christian Majesty and the King of England to make peace, he said to me, that although the French ministry had often told him largely (*largamente*) that his most Christian Majesty would accept Savoy and Piedmont for the Duke of Orleans, renouncing his claim to the State of Milan, on condition that the King of England should give it to the Duke of Savoy, by which means, the other disputes being settled, a good peace might be effected; yet knowing how much the French had the upper hand, they might be suspected of making it appear that they were content with this, rather because they thought the treaty would never be concluded, or if concluded, never be realised, (as was the case at the Conference of Soissons,) than because they in fact desired it. He therefore thought they would prefer holding in security what they had, preserving the affection of their subjects instead of leaving them in doubt about their nationality, and that they would not promise to give what they have in hand with the uncertain hope of receiving what shall be promised them. In addition to this, they gave it to be understood that although his Majesty wished to give State (*di dar Stato*) to the Duke of Orleans, yet, nevertheless, remembering the many inconveniences to which this Crown had been subjected by the ambition of younger sons, they did not care to exalt him so greatly as to let him suppose hereafter that he could do without this Crown.

On the other hand the Abbot said that as he knew the King of England to be in a state of great decadence, both from the Emperor's having become a useless personage (*già ridutta la persona dell' Imperator inutile*), and from his Majesty's small experience of the affairs of the world, as also because the persons about him were not of such a quality as to have firm reliance placed on them for what related either to peace or war; in addition to which, all the revenues of Spain are already alienated for ever, whilst those of Milan are pledged for five years, and the Neapolitan taxes for seven, and the means of finding money elsewhere for a war being scanty, Parpaglia inferred that King Philip would be compelled to make peace with the King of France, chiefly to quiet the affairs of Italy, and that if King Henry refused it him, the King of England must then make friends with the Princes of Italy, compelling them to prevent France from making himself master of Milan, and consequently of Naples also, and perhaps of the greater part of Italy, for the accomplishment of which he saw no better way than that the King of England should in fact divest himself of the State of Milan; he therefore purposed going to his Court and discussing all these things with the King of England and his ministers, and to see whether they really intended renouncing this State of Milan as they said they would; in which case he would confirm the King in his opinion, and should he perceive any hesitation endeavour by argument to persuade his Majesty to yield to the necessities of the times, laying before him, how through this resolve he might raise a considerable sum of money with which he might better adjust his other affairs, which greatly needed it. On the formation of this resolve, which he seemed to consider almost certain, he purposed proposing to the King that in case his most Christian Majesty proceeded slowly about the treaty

1556.

of the peace, he should let him know freely that he was determined to give the State of Milan; and if his most Christian Majesty would make peace, that he would give it to the Duke of Savoy, leaving the whole of Piedmont and Savoy to the Duke of Savoy, both sides renouncing their claims and rights; but should his most Christian Majesty show himself averse, he was then to let him know that even without making peace he, the King of England, purposed divesting himself of the said State, and therefore, on his most Christian Majesty's rejection of the aforesaid terms, that he would give the State of Milan to some person most to the satisfaction of the Princes of Italy, endeavouring to do it in such a way that the said Princes should be compelled to defend the new Duke.

The Abbot next explained the means whereby through this cession the King of England would be able to raise money thus: to your Serenity he might sell Cremona and the Ghiaira d'Adda; to the Genoese, Asti, and the neighbouring places; and give Piacenza to Duke Ottavio, in the best way he could; nor, even should peace be made, could the King of France complain of this, whilst the Duke of Savoy being deprived of everything would content himself with what he could get, and the Princes of Italy be more and more satisfied should the Duke of Milan be less powerful. Parpaglia then said that if France rejected peace, he would exhort the King of England to make the aforesaid sales (venditioni), giving the rest of the State either to the Duke of Savoy or to the Archduke Ferdinand, at the option of the Princes of Italy, by which means it would behove them to league together, not merely for the defence of the new Duke, that he may maintain his position, but also for the safe custody of what each of them shall have purchased; and although this second project presented much greater difficulties than the first, he said he would nevertheless not fail to propose the whole, so that the best arrangement possible might be made; telling me, in conclusion, that he greatly hoped these ideas might come to a good end (being tolerably well acquainted with the disposition of the King of England), unless the negotiation be impeded by the King of France on his hearing of the aforesaid sales.

Morette, 16th September 1556.

[Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Sept. 19.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

620. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Fra Tomaso Manrich (*sic*), has returned from the camp with two letters from the Duke of Alba, one to the Pope, and the other in reply to what was written to him by the Cardinal "Decano" [de Bellai], as by enclosed copies.* The contents of the letter written to the Cardinals enraged the Pope greatly, and in the Congregation of the Inquisition he uttered his usual violent abuse of the Emperor, nor would he receive the letter addressed to himself, but Congregation being ended, Cardinal S. Giacomo remained with his Holiness,

* These copies do not exist in the Venetian Archives, but their substance may be read in Foreign Calendar, Mary, pp. 253, 254.

1556.

though he despaired of doing any good; notwithstanding which, with the assistance of Cardinal Caraffa, he at length induced his Holiness to receive the letter and to appoint a committee of four Cardinals, namely, S. Giacomo, Trani [Bernardino Scoto], Pisa [Scipione Rebiba], and Caraffa, who on that same night at 11 p.m. sent back the Friar to the Duke of Alva, and this evening [of the 18th?] he returned, bringing with him, in the Duke's name, to negotiate the peace, Don Francisco Pacheco; and at 8 p.m., on coming away from audience of his Holiness, I saw the Friar enter the Pope's chamber. The Florentine Ambassador says that should the Pope not be obstinate, and if he will somewhat modify his intense vigour, the peace might be made, as he the ambassador has received intelligence from his Duke, with orders to confirm it to the Pope, that the Emperor and his son do not wish for any territory belonging to the Church, but merely to hold their own.

On Thursday morning, something having been heard to the effect that the Roman people did not intend to defend themselves, and that should the army advance to this city they purposed making terms, Cardinal Caraffa went to their council hall at Campidoglio, and told them that they had no reason to fear for this city, by reason of the great provision made, and that, to convince them of this, he would reside in Rome in any place they chose, so as to run all chances with them, both good and bad, wherefore they should determine to defend themselves and show that they were truly Romans. The Cardinal was told in reply that to give courage, not to them who had plenty of it, but to the populace, it would be well for his right reverend lordship to come into the palace of St. Mark in Rome,* and that with regard to defending themselves, in the evening they would give their answer, which purported that they will always resist, provided Rome be sufficiently supplied with infantry and ammunition, which the Government (*questi Signori*) says it is abundantly; and the Cardinal will perhaps come to reside in St. Mark's to-morrow.

On that same day the alarm was given in this city, either from some false discovery made by the sentries, or possibly by order of the government (*questi Signori*) to see how the soldiers and the populace behaved themselves, which caused great confusion and terror to the majority, some women having miscarried, and the aspect of the whole city being piteous, women running dishevelled through the streets with infants at the breast, everybody being intent on saving themselves and their property. Cardinal Caraffa sent the Archbishop of Cosenza to tell the Pope not to be disturbed, as the report had been raised by accident, and not because there was any danger. The paid soldiers, especially the Gascons, were found obedient to the cry, "To arms!" speedily in battle array, and ready for defence. The like was not the case with the battalions of the people (*del Populo*), for the heads of districts (*li Caporioni*) were very ill followed. This tumult has caused many persons to quit

* The Palace of St. Mark, built by the Venetian Pope Paul II. (Pietro Barbo), in the latter half of the 15th century, was given to the Republic of Venice in the year 1564 by Pope Pius IV. (See Andrea Morosini, vol. 2, p. 331.)

1556.

Rome, whilst others have sent their effects into the "Borgo" for greater security.

Marc' Antonio Colonna with the cavalry has ravaged his whole territory; and to-day two squadrons came as far as the aqueducts, and in the direction of St. Sebastian, within two miles of the walls of this city, carrying off all the cattle. On receiving this intelligence from a light-horseman who had been sent out to reconnoitre, Cardinal Caraffa sent to tell the Pope to be under no apprehension, as it was nothing of importance, and his right reverend lordship rode in that direction because the Duke of Paliano was confined to his bed by quartan-ague, sending in advance 150 helmets, and having 300 arquebusiers for his own escort as a reinforcement; but the enemy, having made their booty, retired, and when these troops went out of the gates of Rome they were already at a great distance. It is said that one squadron went towards Marino, and the other in the direction of Frascati. The Friar, when asked about this foray, replies, that on his way to the camp the guides mistook the road, so that he arrived too late, the cavalry having been already sent out for that purpose; and he also says that on his way hither with Don Francisco Pacheco, the postillion abandoned them in a wood, carrying off the cloak-bags (*valigie*) containing Don Francisco's clothes; nor will I omit to mention what the said Friar told some of his friends, as follows: Ascanio della Cornia inquired of him how his (Cornia's) heir was (meaning the Signor Matteo Stendardo),* and when the Friar replied that he was well, Cornia continued, "Tell him to take good care of the property"; and when the Friar asked to see Marc' Antonio Colonna, Cornia said, "Care not about him, lest you be excommunicated." The Friar also says that the soldiers were sorry to see him depart on his pacific mission.

Rome, 19th September 4 a.m.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

621. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The ministers of the most Christian King, and above all, Marshal Strozzi, knowing that his Majesty, beyond the assistance of men and money given by him hitherto for the defence of the Pope, either could not or would not give anything more, strongly dissuaded his Holiness from giving cause to the Imperialists to move war, and they now exhort him to make an agreement; but here they encounter great difficulty, as the slightest word from France, and any hope given from that quarter, inspires the utmost confidence; though now they might be perfectly convinced, having received two advices, the one contradicting the other, according to the custom of the Constable [Montmorency], whose wont it is to promise largely in the first place, so that, the opportunity presenting itself, the parties concerned may make advantageous use of his letters; but immediately afterwards, he sends account of the matter as it stands, and what the result will be.

Thus has he done at present in reply to the courier sent by the

* When Ascanio della Cornia betrayed him, the Pope confiscated his property, and gave it to his own kinsman Matteo Stendardo.

1556.

Pope after the departure from the court of Cardinal Caraffa, and who met his right reverend lordship at a distance of two posts from Lyons; whereby his Holiness requested the King to break with the Emperor.

His Majesty despatched M. de Vinovo (*sic*), promising to raise 6,000 Switzers, to send 500 men-at-arms and 500 light horse with M. de Termes, and to make other provision; but two days afterwards the Constable wrote by an express that there were many difficulties about carrying into effect the projects transmitted through M. de Vinovo, including amongst other things the affair of the Farneses, complaining of Duke Ottavio; and saying that the Switzers must pass through the territory of the Grisons, who would refuse the passage unless some of them also were levied, to do which would disturb everything, they being sorry, disobedient troops, as seen lately in Tuscany; and, in short, he came to the conclusion that nothing more can be done, and that to act hastily is disadvantageous. Some persons also say that Duke Ottavio having notified his agreement to the King of France, his Majesty did not disapprove of it. The letter to the Pope is very bland, but to the ministers he writes very clearly that they must endeavour to make peace, as nothing more will be done.

This enraged the Pope greatly, and it was fortunate that the express arrived before M. de Vinovo, as otherwise his Holiness would have blustered more (*saria stata più su'l bravo*); and my informant says that possibly despair of being able to get what they desire from France may make these lords (*questi signori*) condescend to the agreement, and the more, as they are compelled to garrison Rome, because the enemy can come whenever they please from two quarters, without fear lest Velletri or Paliano either prevent them or cut off their victuals. The one is by taking Hostia—which at the sight of a cannon would surrender—and coasting the river, come and quarter themselves at S. Paulo, protecting their flanks with two forts, and procuring victuals by sea, by means of caravans of lighters (*caravane di barche*) towed by galleys along the channel of the Tiber, as far as S. Paulo; nor could they by any means be prevented from doing this; and even should the sea remain stormy for a week, the small places in the “Campagna,” which are abundantly supplied, will prevent any scarcity of provisions. The other way is in the direction of the Porta del Popolo, where, moreover, Rome is weaker, should they choose to take it by storm, after making themselves masters of Tivoli, which is unable to stand battery; and then encamp at Ponte Molle, obtaining victuals from the Papal territory thereabouts, the whole of which would be in their power, except Paliano and Velletri, which places, however, should the Imperialists choose to obtain their supplies from the kingdom of Naples, could not prevent it, as they have no cavalry, whereas the enemy can leave a squadron thereabouts, with foot-soldiers from the Abruzzi to escort the sutlers.

He said besides, that he does not think the Imperialists will attempt Paliano or Velletri, as the first is impregnable unless by siege, but that it is provisioned for a year and more; and with regard to the second, it would not answer them to toil for its capture, as besides giving them much trouble, it would be of no use

1556.

at all when taken—Sermoneta, a strong place, being at a short distance from it, and better suited for the interception of victuals than Velletri, being nearer the road by which they would have to pass; though this person does not think they will avail themselves of provisions from the kingdom of Naples, by reason of the great distance, and because they can get them from the Papal States; and even should they choose to be supplied from the Kingdom, it will be by sea as aforesaid. Without my saying anything more, your Serenity's prudence can comprehend of what importance it would be, on several accounts, were this conversation to be made public, so I should beseech you to enjoin the closest secrecy.

Rome, 19th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

622. The SAME to the SAME.

To-day at audience, the Pope said to me, "We shall now have little trouble in giving you news, as the affairs of these schismatics are but too manifest; it is thus clearly seen how they treat us, and you can be convinced of what we have so often told you about their malignity, and our great scruple not to be the first to make war, although we saw our advantage, but this sacred place compelled us to prove our candour to the world by tolerance, on which we dwelt so much as to neglect self-defence. We have often told you of the malignity of the Imperialists (*di costoro*) and of their desire to occupy this State, that they may then seize yours likewise, as nothing else of importance remains in Italy; but, like Cassandra, *nunquam credita Teueris*, we have never been believed. To-morrow, or next day, we shall depart this life; and you will remain, and in the ruins will remember this poor old man, and lament not having chosen to provide in time against our downfall (*li danni nostri*). We protest to you as ambassador, that our forces are but scanty (*che noi non habbiamo più forze che tante*), and we have determined to recommend ourselves to Christ and say as He said to the Father Eternal, and as so many of our predecessors have said, *Fiat voluntas tua*. We cannot know the judgment of God, nor why he blinds those, *quorum interest*, that they may not see their destruction. It is indeed very marvellous that you should remain looking on at the loss of this State without caring about it in the least, and that you do not perceive that unless you bestir yourselves speedily, this festival will be the eve of yours. Think not by means of your fortified towns to resist single-handed the tyrannical force of those people (*di costoro*), for he who has the plane has the hill; neither suppose that you can retain the mainland; and place no trust in them, for they will do by you as they did by Paul III., who, by the assistance which he gave him, rendered the Emperor master of Germany, and he to reward the Pope had his son assassinated, and robbed him of a city (*et esso per mercede li fece amazzar il figliolo, et li rubbò una città*).^{*} Had Paul

^{*} Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza (which he received from his father Paul III. on the 12th August 1545), was assassinated at Piacenza on the 10th September 1547. (See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, p. 845. Ed. Paris, 1770.)

1556.

taken our advice, there would, perhaps, not have been war in Italy; and we should have Germany Catholic, for they believe what suits them with regard to their annual incomes and freedom of living; so that, had they been negotiated with, a good understanding being formed to guarantee them against oppression, they would have done anything; nor, when this enemy of God is reproached with having encouraged the Lutherans and excuses himself on the plea of having waged war against them, does he speak otherwise than falsely, for, on the contrary, there were more Lutherans in his army than in the Landgrave's; but *nomine* the war was against the Lutherans, and *re* against Germany, in order to subjugate it; and to a Roman, his prisoner, after asking him what they were doing at Rome, most especially the Pope, the Landgrave said, 'We have not so much difference with the Roman church as to prevent our adjusting it speedily; but the difficulty is with the Emperor, who seeks to deprive us of our liberty.' In short, the Imperialists aim at universal monarchy, and as this shadow of religion on which they have turned their backs remains, they seek to debase it. You know the injuries done to the Spanish clergy, the usurpation of the territory (*del stato*) annexed to the Archbishopric of Toledo. Besides, we have complaints from the clergy of Milan and Naples; we also know the resolve formed by the Imperial Council when the Lutheran sect first sprang up, that it should be encouraged, because it would render the Emperor master of Rome. Why is credit denied to facts, manifest daily? And having been unable to entangle us by relationship through female bastards as they did Paul* and to put their foot [on our neck] as they did on the neck of Julius by bullying (*per braura*), on us they have made open war; and you allow yourselves to be lulled by them; they demand troops, saying the strangest things in the world—that we chose to make war on them!! With what armies, with what fleets? For the love of God believe us that this blandishment is most pernicious both for you and the others."

To this I replied, "Holy Father, with regard to this very point I am commissioned to tell your Holiness that the Duke of Alva has sent a messenger to give account of his proceedings; that what he was about to do would be for the purpose of carrying the war—of which he was apprehensive—into the enemy's country (*in casa d'altri*); but that he would not fail to make peace readily, whenever your Holiness chose; and he prayed the Signory to intercede with you for the quiet desired by all; nor can I but hope for the best, as I see Fra Tomaso going backwards and forwards, and know your Holiness' pious intention, as so often heard from your own lips, and written by me to the State."

The Pope replied, "To prove our hearty wish for peace, we have placed it in the hands of Cardinal S. Giacomo, the Duke of Alva's uncle, but mark well that these words of theirs are uttered to put us to sleep and do their own business, and that they will keep

* The marriage of Margaret of Austria, the illegitimate daughter of Charles V., to Ottavio Farnese, took place in the year 1538, she being then the widow of Alessandro de Medici, Duke of Florence.

1556.

advancing and demanding terms which cannot be conceded, and thus endeavour to detain you and the others from their duty, for the defence of the See Apostolic, and for the sake of Christ and their own interest. Believe me, they are very cunning, and know how to restrain you from action; they send you these messengers, having done the like by the Dukes of Urbino, Ferrara, and Parma. They have no need to send to Florence, as he is theirs, and as Parma likewise speedily will be, because they choose to have the Duke's children in their hands. We tell you that these are delays, and that they only desire peace in order to command us. As we are not credited, it will suffice us to have done our duty; we shall not be the first Pontiff persecuted and martyred by tyrants; but you will come next and be the first oppressed; and then the King of France, who thinks that he can stay the shot. By God! you will find yourselves deceived. Why do you not make yourselves heard, that you will not permit our persecution? *Vivat Dominus!* the time will come when, at your very great cost, you will wish to apply a remedy, and will be unable to do so; we tell it you plainly, and make you this protest, both in virtue of the post we fill, and by reason of the love and affection we bear the Republic, for God knows how much her misfortune will pain us; we will not bear the blame of this either in the face of the world or before God." I answered in suitable terms, and then took leave.

Rome, 19th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

623. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From certain merchants who came along the coast from these neighbouring French towns, it has been heard that the Emperor had already passed Nieuport near Calais, and was continuing the voyage with a very fair wind; so the sailors here are of opinion that should his Imperial Majesty not touch England, he will in seven days arrive in Spain, in Asturia, at the harbour of Laredo, where he is expected to land, and will find the attendants, horses, and baggage waggons (*cariaggi*) which he sent through France. The Spaniards say that he will send a part of those ships to join the Portuguese caravels, and to go with the Spanish fleet to succour Oran. His first journey by land will be to Valladolid, to see the Princess his daughter, and the Prince of Spain [Don Carlos] his grandson, whom he had never yet seen; and after endeavouring to obtain a donative for King Philip, he will go to the Hieronimite monastery of San Yuste (*San Giusto*) near Plasencia, where he says he has destined to end his days, the place, for its healthy climate and the delightfulness of the country, being considered the most beautiful in Spain.

This evening the King is expected to return from Zealand, where he had an opportunity of paying his respects to the Emperor, who, although he had departed, was compelled by contrary winds to put back twice. Gonzalo Perez, the King's chief secretary, says his Majesty will certainly go to Antwerp in a few days, and proceed to inspect all these frontiers, accompanied by the Duke of Savoy and

1556.

Don Alvarez de Sando (*sic*), late quartermaster-general (*maestro di campo*) in the Milanese, to whom he has given the command of the Spanish infantry and of all the frontiers garrisoned by Spaniards. I hear that the King purposes sending a gentleman to visit his brother-in-law the Duke of Parma and his sister,* to congratulate them on the close of the negotiation for the benefit and satisfaction of all parties. The Duke's agent, who went off to-day with the signed agreement, says his master will come shortly to kiss the King's hand, and that his Excellency's son the [Prince of Parma] will go to wait on Don Carlos in Spain.

The French ambassador and some other persons here, say publicly that there is a secret clause between the King and the Duke, stipulating that after a certain time his Excellency be bound to accept compensation for Piacenza, and to give it back to his Majesty; and the aforesaid ambassador abuses the Duke in the grossest terms that can possibly be imagined.

They are expecting here this evening Count Giovanni Angusciola, one of the conspirators who murdered his Excellency's father, it being said that the King sent for him to reward him, and that they will do the like by the others, to try and arrange matters with the Duke, lest from despair they restore that city to the Church, or give it to France. After despatching the Duke's agent, the ministers here sent for the agent of Don Ferrante, and told him that of the 180,000 crowns claimed by his Excellency they had liquidated 75,000, assigning payment on the mines and other things in Spain, Sicily, and Milan. The deputies of Brabant, contrary to what they said they would do, have come hither, but (as they say) not to settle with his Majesty about the demand for money.

Ghent, 19th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

624. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last evening, the Abbot of San Saluto, returning from Ghent, came to me here, on his way to the Court at Val Luisant (Valosant, Vauluisant?)† and apologizing for having left Paris without any hint about going to Flanders, he told me that, wishing both to elicit some good decision on the part of the King of England with regard to his mind about the Pope, and also with a view to advance the negotiation of peace between these two Princes, he came to the conclusion that his letters alone would not suffice, but that by going in person he might do something more; and not choosing to acquaint the Constable with his departure, thinking that although his Excellency might approve he would not say so to him, to avoid showing himself anxious for these negotiations, and that he would rather

* Margaret of Austria, illegitimate daughter of Charles V., born at Valladolid in the summer of 1523; her mother, one of the daughters of Girolamo Nogarola, an outlawed Venetian subject, received a marriage portion of 20,000 crowns from the Emperor at Burgos, in May 1524, and then became the lawful wife of one Van Geste. The birth of Margaret of Austria is dated in the despatches of Gasparo Contarini, and by Sanuto's Diaries it appears that her mother was a Venetian gentlewoman, by name Michiel.

† See Foreign Calendar, Mary (8 October 1556, p. 261).

1556.

dissuade him, he determined on giving no hint about it to his Excellency or to any other person, but to depart suddenly. On arriving at the Court in Flanders he addressed himself to Don Ruy Gomez, and through his means to the King of England, to whom he repeated the words uttered to him by Cardinal Caraffa about the wish evinced by his right reverend lordship with regard to laying down arms provided the Imperialists proceeded with the same goodwill. He told me that after speaking with the Cardinal of Lorraine (who keeps this scheme alive), and then with his most Christian Majesty and the Constable, he would let me know King Philip's reply and what took place subsequently; but wishing to give your Serenity immediate advice of the whole, I so plied him, that at length, this morning, after requesting me earnestly not to name him, he said that the reply which he received from the King of England was that the French ambassador had already performed the like office with his Majesty, offering the mediation of the most Christian King, and that the ambassador was to return [to King Philip] on the morrow for the answer; so after leaving the King, Parpaglia spoke to him, and he confessing everything, the Abbot greatly commended his following up this undertaking. The ambassador, being ill of quartan ague, delayed going to the King of England, and, letting his Majesty know that he was indisposed, withdrew from the negotiation; but the cause was, that in the meanwhile he had received orders from France to that effect.

The Abbot, notwithstanding this, returned to Ruy Gomez, who, after many words, ended by telling him that his King was disposed to be at rest (*di abbracciare la quiete*) with all parties, and therefore that if the most Christian King wished the adjustment of the disputes with the Pope to be treated first, the King of England was content; and if on the contrary his most Christian Majesty wished the treaty of peace between the two Crowns to take precedence of it, the King of England would condescend (*condescenderebbe*) to that likewise. The Abbot then requested me to bear with his not telling me at present what he knew about this affair of the peace, hinting, however, that it was something of importance relating to the conversation he held with me, about which I wrote to your Serenity on the 16th inst., as he wished at any rate to speak about it first with the Constable; but that as to the negotiation with the Pope, Don Ruy Gomez had offered him three conditions (*partiti*): that His Holiness should raze the fortresses, or else place them in the hands of the College of Cardinals, whereupon it should be investigated according to law whether the acts passed against the Colonnas were passed canonically or not; or in case his Holiness would not accept either the first or second of these proposals, whether as a third alternative he would give back his territory to Marc' Antonio Colonna in the same state as when he deprived him of it, in which case the King of England would give other territory as recompense, which would be no less agreeable to the Count of Montorio than Paliano was. With regard to the two first proposals the Abbot replied that he already knew clearly that the Pope would accept neither the one nor the other, because in truth he could not do so decorously; and as to the third, Parpaglia viewed it in the

1556.

same light, because the Pope would never be satisfied with having a State in King Philip's realms, as he might always doubt the security of his kinsfolk, but that should his Majesty choose to make some other independent compensation such as it would not be difficult to find better hope might be entertained; and the Abbot proposed giving him Sienna, to which Ruy Gomez replied that the Duke of Paliano had often had this hinted to him, and that he believed that provided the most Christian King likewise on his part would give him the fortresses held for France in Tuscany, the King of England would also transfer the rest to the Duke of Paliano, provided the Pope reinstated Marco Antonio Colonna. After taking leave, Parpaglia put the whole of this conversation to writing, both about the willingness of the King of England to negotiate the agreement with the Pope, either firstly or secondly, at the option of his most Christian Majesty, as also respecting these three proposals, and he took the writing to Don Ruy Gomez, who, having read and approved of it the Abbot said that with his permission he would give it to the French ambassador, to which his Excellency apparently assenting, Parpaglia gave it accordingly, and the ambassador having sent it hither, as heard by me on good authority, it was forwarded to Rome by the express who took charge of my last letters to your Serenity.

Then on the morrow the Abbot returned to Ruy Gomez, and when discussing this particular, having said that the Count of Montorio might well be content with the city of Sienna and the whole of that State, his Excellency told him instantly that the King of England did not intend to give the city of Sienna, though he would cede the rest of what he holds in the Siennese territory; and although the Abbot rejoined that Ruy Gomez had told him he would give the whole, and that he, Parpaglia, showed him the writing to that effect, and then with his permission gave it to the French ambassador, he could not move him from this (no lo potè mover da questo), that the King reserved the city of Sienna, but would give all the rest of its territory. The Abbot returned with this intelligence to the ambassador, who answered him that he understood the ambassador of the Duke of Florence had remonstrated strongly about the matter in question, and that at his suit Don Ruy Gomez raised this difficulty; whereupon Parpaglia, after taking leave of the King of England, left the Court, and on arriving here, as mentioned by me, went to make his report to the French Ministry.

Morette, 19th September 1556.

[Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Sept. 19. 625. COPY of the ARTICLES stipulated between the KING OF ENGLAND and DUKE OTTAVIO FARNESE concerning the RESTITUTION of PIACENZA.

The King of England restores Piacenza and its territory (*il Piacentino*) to Duke Ottavio, reserving for himself the fortresses, the garrisons of which to be paid by the Duke.

He gives him back Novara, and its territory (*il Novarese*), keeping for himself the fortress.

1556.

He also restores to him the estate (*stato*) in the kingdom of Naples, and that of Madama [Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma, the Emperor's natural daughter], and Monreale to Cardinal Farnese, but on condition that nothing be said about the past fruits.

The King of England also chooses the Duke to promise him that he will allow the heirs of the deceased conspirators to enjoy their property, and that for six months he will not molest the conspirators now alive (*ch'alli heredi de' congiurati morti si lasci godere i lor beni e ch'alli vivi non si dia molestia per sei mesi*), allowing them to sell what they have in the territory of Piacenza; and should the King please to recompense them in the Duke's States in the kingdom of Naples, or by means of the revenues of Novara, he may be at liberty to do so.

The King recommends to the Duke, the Count of San Secondo, and Gio. Francesco Sanseverino, whom, should they show themselves good vassals, he is to treat well, and if not, to punish them.

The Duke is also to dismantle Fontanella, Roccabianca, and Toricella, and the King gives him Borgo San Donino, fortified as it stands.

The King also chooses that, at the time when Piacenza is restored, the Duke do send his son the Lord Don Alessandro to remain for some days at Milan.

[Document enclosed in the foregoing despatch of Giacomo Soranzo, without any date of time or place.]

Sept. 22.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

626. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The four Cardinals who were appointed to treat the agreement, namely, S. Giacomo, Trani, Pisa, and Caraffa, met in the house of S. Giacomo, who was unable to move owing to gouty pains; and to these four were added Morone, Carpi, and Pacheco, to whom the Duke of Alva had announced his wish for them to confer with his envoy Don Francisco Pacheco, which they declined, saying they had nothing to do with the Duke of Alva, and that they depended on the Pope, until his Holiness desired them to attend the conference, at which Don Francisco Pacheco represented that the Duke of Alva, from his wish for peace in conformity with the intention of the King his lord, besides what he wrote, and according to the request made by him of the Pope, had sent him, Don Francisco, in order to try and carry this his good will into effect; and he then specified the conditions, as your Serenity will perceive by the enclosed copy.* He was answered that they were too hard, and that the Cardinals supposed that the Duke being so well disposed as he said, had given him other fairer conditions apart.

Don Francisco rejoined that he had no other commission than what he had stated, and that he was also desired not to delay his departure beyond 2 p.m. on the morrow, whereupon the conference

* Not found.

1556.

broke up, telling him that Cardinal Caraffa would report to the Pope, and that he should have his Holiness' reply on the morrow. I understand that, on hearing the terms, the Pope got into a rage, saying they could not ask more were he their prisoner in the Castle at Naples; so the conference having assembled again yesterday, Cardinal Caraffa said, "The Pope has not chosen to reply, because he knows that peace is demanded verbally, but that practically they wish for war, though he charged me to tell these right reverend cardinals to consult all together, and see if they can devise any fair form of adjustment, as he would never reject it." Many things were said, but the conclusion they came to was, that if the Pope approved of it, Cardinal Caraffa should have an interview with the Duke of Alva, who, Don Francisco Pacheco said, would accept it; and they exhorted Cardinal S. Giacomo to go likewise, although he is indisposed not only from gout but also from a slight attack of fever, as it is not a very long journey, and he can perform it in a litter, which he very readily offered to do. Then to-day the afore-said Cardinals met again together with Don Francisco Pacheco in the presence of the Pope to hear his decision about this interview.

His Holiness commenced by abusing the Emperor and his son, as he often has done, and perhaps more vehemently than ever; saying that he (the Pope) was armed, and chose at any rate to chastise the rebels of God, and of this Church, and the iniquitous ministers of these schismatic Princes, so that it was expected the conference would break up thus; but nevertheless by degrees the Cardinals S. Giacomo and Caraffa induced him to determine to confer with the Duke, he saying to them, "But do not, however, cause anything to be done of such a sort as we never imagined;" after which words the Cardinals Carpi and Trani, having withdrawn into a private chamber, wrote a letter to the Duke of Alva, announcing the resolve of the committee about the interview; and the Government (*questi Signori*) being thus requested, allowed Don Francisco Pacheco to see the prisoners in the Castle, and principally Don Garcilasso de la Vega, to be able to report him alive and well, and perhaps not so ill-treated as was stated. Don Francisco will depart to-night to fix the site and time of the interview.

The gossips here (*qui quelli che discorrono*) believe that should any agreement be made, Cardinal Caraffa and all this family will declare themselves Imperialists, which they say might easily come to pass, as they have been deceived in the high hopes entertained by them of assistance and favour from the most Christian King. There is a general fear, or rather panic, amongst the few persons now remaining in Rome; so the desire for the adjustment of this difficulty is incredible.

Rome, 22nd September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 22.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

627. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The return of Francesco Piamontese has greatly increased the Queen's hope of the King's coming, he being the bearer of autograph

1556.

letters from his Majesty to the effect that after the Emperor's departure he would set out as soon as possible, and attend to the despatch of his business with all haste and diligence. Her hope was subsequently redoubled by news received from her Admiral [Lord Howard of Effingham] on Saturday the 19th, that on the morning of the day before, the 18th, the Emperor, with the Queens [Eleanor of France and Maria of Hungary], passed between Dover and Calais with the whole fleet of about 50 sail; and (to give the contents of the whole news-letter) the Admiral, on presenting himself to his Majesty to accompany him with his squadron, as he did, when he went on board the Emperor's own ship to pay his respects, found him seated at table for dinner, not the least sea-sick (*senza punto di perturbatione posta a tavola per desinare*), and he saw the Queen of Hungary in the same state, very brisk indeed (*gagliardissima*), never having been sick, which was not the case with the Queen of France, who suffered greatly.

Next day, Sunday, the 20th, news also arrived of the progress of the fleets; that on that same Saturday, the 19th, they had passed the Isle of Wight, being well nigh beyond the shoals (*intrichi*) and perils of this Channel; and it was supposed that as the wind changed afterwards, and became contrary, they will therefore ride at anchor (*intenerirsi*) at the extremity of the island, either off Falmouth or Dartmouth, and that having already done the most by getting out of the Channel, the slightest breath of wind, with the help of the tide, will suffice for the continuation of the voyage.

Owing to such good news, the Queen, in a transport of delight, wished instantly to send the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel and Lord Paget towards the seaside, and also to march thither the archers of the guard, had not Cardinal Pole, to whom, through other channels, information is given orally and by letter, with less reserve, concerning the causes and impediments whereby the King is detained, and which will perhaps detain him some days longer, persuaded her Majesty to await further intelligence before despatching these lords or anybody else, and in the meanwhile to send back another courier to the King with the news of the Emperor's passage (although he will have heard it already, a messenger having of course been despatched from the fleet immediately); the Queen with this opportunity reminding and entreating him, as he has now no longer any legitimate cause for absence, to fulfil his obligation and promise without delay, knowing the great importance and need of his return.

Cardinal Pole and the Regent [Don Juan de Figueroa] have been occupied with this despatch for two consecutive days, indicating thus that they have perhaps also given account of other secret matters now in course of negotiation between them; but as to the coming of the King, with the exception of the Queen, who feeds herself with these vain hopes, being desirous and too apt to believe, the Cardinal and all the others, owing to these last advices, notwithstanding the Emperor's departure, consider it more remote than they anticipated.

They have commenced regulating the expenses of the court, retrenching such as are superfluous, and to save as much as possible,

1556.

having already broken the 50 gentlemen pensioners of the axe (*pensionarij gentilhomini dell' azza*), after the French fashion, each of whom had an annual salary of 50 pounds sterling, besides their liveries and board at the court (*le lor livree et la tavola in corte*), and with them also the other 50 yeomen of the guard (*gentilhomini serventi*), who had half that stipend; and they have at length recalled the ambassador Vannes, resident with your Serenity, it being their intention for the King's ambassador to suffice for the Queen likewise, having already sent the necessary credentials, previously signed by Her Majesty, to the King, that he may countersign them. There is also a talk of recalling the ambassador in France, that the one from King Philip may represent both crowns.

Three days ago the Queen returned to London, Michaelmas term being at hand, but yet more because, according to her belief, her consort's return is proximate. On coming back, she embarked on the other side of the river at Lambeth, the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury and personal residence of Cardinal Pole, opposite to Her Majesty's (*opposito a quello di sua Maestà*),* and not only chose to enter it, but, ascending the stairs, had herself conducted by his most illustrious lordship into his own chamber, and through the gardens, and everywhere, staying for luncheon, with infinite familiarity and kindness, asking two or three times for Monsignor Priuli, who failed to present himself.

London, 22nd September 1556.

[Italian.]

Sept. 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

628. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the day I wrote my last of the 19th, the Court received a courier with the news of the capture of Frosinone and Pontecorvo, and that the Colonnas had advanced as far as Tivoli, 14 miles from Rome, carrying off men and cattle. Letters from Corsica also inform the King that the Genoese had taken a fort in which were 16 French soldiers, whom they cut to pieces, and then with four guns attacked a place called Belgodere, but failed in the attempt; and the Lord Giordano† writes that the enemy had landed troops three times, and it was said they purposed making an expedition against the island, appointing Antonio Doria commander-in-chief, and that he, Giordano, had neither troops nor ammunition, so that unless his most Christian Majesty sent him fresh supplies speedily, the affairs of that island seemed to be in great danger.

Intelligence has likewise been received of a plot which was discovered at Metz, and which had been made by the Spaniards with the townspeople, but Cui (*sic*) made a counterplot, which was also discovered by those outside the town; so some Spanish regiments which were within four leagues of the place retreated.

* Alluding to St. James's, as in Machyn's Diary, p. 114, thus, "The xix day of September dyd the Quene's grace remove from Croydun, the Bysshope of Canthurbere's plasse, unto Sant James-in-the-Feld be-yond Charyng-crosse, her own plasse, with my Lord Cardenall and . . ." (unfinished.)

† Giordano Orsini, French Lieutenant in Corsica. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 147.)

1556.

It has in like manner been heard from Germany that 6,000 Germans were being engaged for the King of England to be sent to Italy, although some persons say they were to have been employed for the above-mentioned plot against Metz.

Immediately on receipt of this intelligence his most Christian Majesty sent for the Cardinal of Lorraine (who was with the Queen of Scotland) [Mary Stuart], she not having yet recovered her health) and for the Marshals de Brissac [Charles de Cossé] and St. André [Jacques d'Albon], in order that together with the Constable and the Duke de Guise, who were with him, they might discuss the steps to be taken, and they are now sitting in consultation, but as yet no one knows the result, though it is expected that the decision will leave the rupture of the truce doubtful, as should the King choose to dissemble they will say it is not broken, and if he is determined on war they will unanimously say the truce has been violated.

In the meanwhile the Abbot of San Saluto arrived at the Court, and the first thing the Constable asked him was, whether Cardinal Caraffa had given him an express order to go to Flanders, or whether he went of his own accord, and in reply Parpaglia assigned the causes as in my last, telling him what he had negotiated with Don Ruy Gomez, and his three proposals for agreement with the Pope. With regard to the general peace he said he urged Ruy Gomez to state distinctly the terms on which he wished this matter to proceed, and he replied that this was not the time to tell him anything more, but that should his most Christian Majesty act (ma che incamminandose sua M^{te} X^{ma}) he would be convinced of the goodwill of King Philip, who would give him cause to be his good friend and to be well disposed towards his realms and States, and that any adjustment made might be corroborated by marriages and by anything else most to King Henry's satisfaction. When Parpaglia told Ruy Gomez that until he condescended to greater details the French on their part would be equally reserved; he rejoined, "Prithee, let the most Christian King be content not to give law to our King about our affairs, in like manner as the King of England does not seek to dictate to his most Christian Majesty about those of France, and whenever he may wish to treat either by messenger or letters, or through ministers, he will always find my King disposed, and we shall then be able to enter into such details as necessary." After the Abbot had made this statement, which he also delivered in writing, the Constable replied that he was to return to the Court in three days, as in the meanwhile he would show the paper to the King and then give Parpaglia the answer. The Abbot then communicated to him the stir (li moti) at Rome, to which his Excellency did not seem to attach much importance, as evinced by him also to others who spoke to him on the same subject. Parpaglia next told me apart that he held some conversation with Don Ruy Gomez about the arrangement written in my last with regard to alienating a portion of the Milanese, which he seemed to listen to complacently, and said that the present was not the moment for these considerations, but that he would nevertheless not fail to impart them to his King.

1556.

The Constable wrote to me yesterday that on the morning of the 17th the Emperor set sail with a fair wind, and that on the preceding evening his most serene son went on board to visit him and the most serene Queens.

I enclose a copy of the agreement (*capitolazione*) between the King of Spain and Duke Ottavio.

Morette, 23rd September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

629. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French ambassador had audience of the King to-day, complaining in his master's name that, having frequently heard by King Philip's letters and from what he told the Abbot of San Saluto about his greatly wishing for peace, his most Christian Majesty had subsequently heard that these assurances were contradicted by the proceedings of the Duke of Alva, who had already taken several places belonging to the Church; wherefore he again let him know that he had already promised to assist the Pope by all possible means, and was now determined to do so; but nevertheless, in order that the truce might last, and for the benefit of affairs in Italy, he would first tell King Philip that it would be well for him to send stringent orders to the Duke of Alva not to continue the war, because otherwise in like manner as the most Christian King had heard with great regret what has taken place hitherto, so in a few days will his royal Majesty hear news which will distress him yet more. King Philip replied that the words uttered by him to the ambassador and to the Abbot of San Saluto about wishing for peace were really in conformity with his intention, and that an intimation to this effect having been made by him to his Holiness, the Pope in his last speech took occasion to say that he would give the reply when he had got together an army of 30,000 men;* so, considering it certain that these words signified nothing but a desire for war, the Duke for the benefit of his affairs had now commenced it, but that notwithstanding this, he, the King, would still not discontinue treating about peace, not only with his Holiness but also with his most Christian Majesty. The ambassador rejoined that he would write accordingly to his King, who, however, had no intention of discussing peace until this fire against the Church was extinguished.

By the ambassador's account he then spoke to his Majesty about the usual affairs of the frontiers, and of the prisoners, and of the Emperor's voyage, about which the King told him he had that moment received news by an express from the Queen his consort that his Imperial Majesty had anchored off Portland, because of the contrary wind, and although the Admiral requested him to enter the harbour, he nevertheless had not chosen to do so, it seeming to him unnecessary, nor would he in any way retard his voyage:

* Che all' hora li faria la risposta quando si havesse ritrovato in essere trenta mille persone.

1556.

and as the Emperor had already set sail and would keep the French coast, the King requested the ambassador to have account sent him of the weather, and from every place, on his Imperial Majesty's passage. This French ambassador asserts in public that he understands Don Bernardino de Mendoza to have said that in like manner as he always counselled his Majesty not so long to put off the war with the Pope, so had he suggested to him that on taking Rome he should place a garrison of Spaniards in Castle St. Angelo, or build a fortress in some place to enable him for the future to keep the Popes in order (*che potesse nello avvenire contenir in officio i Pontefici*); which caused the ambassador to remark that rather than allow such words to take effect his most Christian Majesty would risk his kingdom.

Amongst the causes which induced the Cardinal of Trent to send hither from Milan his agent Trissino, was that of assuring King Philip that the Duke of Ferrara is not so ill-disposed towards him as he is supposed to be, and that he, the Cardinal, knows him to be the King's servant, and that he wishes and offers to form relationship in some way with the House of Austria, which to all his Majesty's chief ministers has seemed a very strange and novel thing to hear; and they lay the blame either on his right reverend lordship's ignorance of the said Duke's mind, or on the too close friendship maintained by him since a long while with his Excellency. Yesterday the Count Thadeo Manfredi told as a secret to a person from whom I heard it, that he will soon be despatched to Milan, and receive assistance to go and recover certain places belonging to him now held by the aforesaid Duke but under the name of others; the King having received authority to this effect from the Emperor before his departure, in execution of the award made in his favour in the Imperial Diet, but never enforced from regard for his Excellency, which respect it is no longer chosen to have for him if he takes part in the present war.* A courier will be sent this evening to the said Cardinal of Trent and to the Marquis of Pescara with news of the protest made by the French ambassador, and with orders to be prepared in case of an attack in Piedmont.

An express has this moment brought news of the death of the Elector of Cologne, very much to the regret of this Court, as he was the best disposed prince of any in Germany towards all the interests of the Emperor and King Philip; and the life of the Bishop of Liege is also in great danger. This morning the King went in procession to return thanks to the Lord God for the victory obtained against the Infidels. To-morrow I shall receive the letters from the King for the Viceroy of Sicily, and will send them by the ordinary post.†

Ghent, 24th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* Thadeo Manfredi was the lineal descendant of the ancient barons of Faenza and other places in Romagna over which the German Empire claimed jurisdiction.

† In a despatch dated 22nd September, the ambassador writes that orders had been sent to Genoa for the recall of the ships sent to succour Oran, so I infer that the thanksgiving was for some victory gained by the Count of Aleandete; and by the same letter it appears that Ruy Gomez had complied with Badoer's demands concerning the galleys from Messina which had molested the Venetians in the waters of Cyprus.

1556.
 Sept. 26.
 Original
 Letter Book,
 Venetian
 Archives.
 No. 7 B.

630. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Francisco Pacheco has departed for the camp with the decision about the interview, accompanied by a papal courier to bring back the Duke of Alva's reply. The courier returned the next night with letters from the Duke purporting that at 11 a.m. on the day after he would be at Grottaferrata, an abbacy belonging to Cardinal De Monte, some ten miles hence, where he would await the cardinals S. Giacomo and Caraffa, and next morning a gentleman arrived with the safe-conduct. Although Cardinal San Giacomo had passed a restless night from gout and fever, he determined, for so holy a purpose as peace, to go at any rate, and had already had his litter arranged with everything necessary, whilst Cardinal Caraffa breakfasted rather early to be ready for departure.

The Pope on rising sent immediately for Cardinal Caraffa, who, after they had been a long while together, returned to his apartments (in the Palazzo di San Marco) in suspense and very thoughtful, and dismissed the prelates and gentlemen who were waiting for him, booted and spurred, saying the day was too far advanced to allow of their going and returning that same night to Rome, and that it would be unsafe to sleep abroad. On that day no one was allowed to go out of Rome, even although provided with a permit, until after 6 p.m., when a servant of Cardinal S. Giacomo went to the camp with a writing addressed by Cardinal Caraffa to his right reverend lordship, regretting having been unable to go to the Duke, as he wished, but that he did not despair of seeing him soon, and perhaps even at Rome, to the satisfaction of one side and the other.

Then, two nights ago, a trumpet came hither from the Duke with a letter addressed to Cardinal Carpi (he being the person who had written the first to his Excellency), dated Grottaferrata, saying that he had proceeded himself thither at 11 a.m., as he wrote, and remained there until 4, so not having seen anyone he did not choose to omit the performance of this last complimentary office to let him know that he was on his departure to join the army, which he should march in such direction as might seem to him most for his Majesty's service. Cardinal Carpi, who had also a fit of the gout, sent this letter to Cardinal Caraffa, saying that should his right reverend lordship choose him to answer it, he was to send him a draft of what he was to write.

At 2 a.m. a gentleman from Cardinal Caraffa took him a draft, purporting in substance that his not going to the interview was owing to the safe-conduct's having arrived late, and also because they were of opinion that the conference should be held in the open country, with a limited number of persons (as usual), and also nearer Rome, by reason of the indisposition of Cardinal San Giacomo, but that the Pope and his familiars continue well disposed to accept a good and secure peace should it be offered them; and thus wrote the Cardinal of Carpi, sending the letter to the Duke of Alva by his own trumpet.

Various reasons are assigned for their not having gone to this conference; some say that the place was not safe, as there were woods and ravines round about favourable for an ambuscade; others

1556.

that the safe-conduct was less clearly worded than becoming. Many declare that the French, fearing lest the result of this interview might deprive them of the Cardinal and the Caraffa family, thwarted it, and gave great hopes of assistance. What I know for certain is, that the day after it had been settled to go, the French Ambassador and Marshal Strozzi held a long conference with the Pope. But it is muttered by the majority that those in command here (*questi Signori*) are disinclined towards peace, perhaps because, in addition to their natural enmity with the Imperialists, they understand there is some scarcity of money and provisions in the camp, and that the army is not so formidable as they thought.

A trustworthy person tells me that the Pope, when talking with Camillo Orsini about this interview, having said that the safe-conduct was fraudulent, Orsini replied that he could not think the Duke of Alva would break his word in a matter so important and manifest; and when his Holiness rejoined that similar Moriscos (*Marani*) could not be trusted, the Lord Camillo said that the interview could not be otherwise than advantageous, if but to try and effect some adjustment, and yet more to justify his cause before the world, most especially as affairs here were in the state known to his Holiness, and the assistance which might be expected at so great a distance. When the Pope told him that he had to do with a feeble army, without victuals and without money, and therefore discontented, Camillo said that he knew not how an army, master of a fertile territory, with a kingdom completely its own in the rear, and master of the sea, could be in want of victuals, and that even were the case such as represented by his Holiness, an army of that sort, famished and desperate, was much to be feared. The Pope then became enraged, saying, "We took you for another man," and, turning his back upon him, went into another room; but after this, yesterday, with many caresses, and embracing him repeatedly, he endeavoured to soothe him by extolling him above all captains, ancient and modern.

Here, as the determination to hold a conference caused incredible satisfaction and joy, so has this subsequent innovation caused pain and astonishment, a similar mode of negotiating having been seldom, and perhaps never witnessed; and Friar Manrich (*sic*) complaining of this, said that for 20 days at least the Pope ought not to listen to any of his counsellors. The same friar, on the day appointed for the interview, was by the Pope's order detained in his antechamber, being told that the Pope wished to speak to him.

Rome, 26th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26.

631. The SAME to the SAME.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.
(Second Letter.)

The servant of Cardinal S. Giacomo, who went to the camp, returned last night with a letter from the Duke of Alva to his right reverend lordship, telling him that he was about to decamp from Val Montone and go with the army where he thought he might be able to do his King service, and that as to seeing Cardinal Caraffa he should always be glad to do so in his present attire, as he

1556.

had known him for an honourable gentleman in other garb.* It is heard that this Imperial army receives reinforcements daily and now numbers some 10,000 infantry, and I have been told on good authority that it does not suffer from the scarcity reported here, with the exception of the innumerable light horse, who are slightly inconvenienced owing to their constant forays, which prevent them from getting into good quarters. The Duke has despatched fresh captains to raise infantry and cavalry besides those levied in Tuscany under the command of Martio Santa Fiora, the Cardinal's brother,† who it is said will go to Velletri, the Roman Government having sent thither Adrian Baglione in order that the Duke of Somma may come to Rome, though others expect Santa Fiora to come to Tivoli, so as to get nearer to this city, nor is there any doubt of his obtaining the place, as it is not fortified, although to facilitate a retreat it has been half destroyed, and orders have been given for the total destruction of all the mills there, and that the place is to be abandoned if necessary. The enemy's cavalry and infantry scour the country daily, always occupying new places though hitherto none of them are of any importance, and they proceed freely, not fearing any encounter; although some Papal light horse in a hostel near Grottaferrata captured 14 Spaniards and brought them here to-day along the Bankers' Street (*via de Banchi*) as it were in triumph.

The lords here do not fail making what provision they can, and on the day before yesterday they harnessed the Jews to some pieces of artillery, which were thus dragged to the bastions at the gates towards the "Campagna;" taking thither also powder and ball, billeting the infantry and cavalry in the houses and vineyards of private individuals regardless of their being Cardinals or personages of any grade however exalted, and taking away a mattress from each of the public prostitutes, for the accommodation of the soldiery. They make the populace and the priests and friars work at the bastions, in virtue of a proclamation from Camillo Orsini, under penalty of 25 crowns each and of being sent to the galleys, and to-day Cardinal Caraffa appointed the Archbishop of Cosenza as their superintendent, desiring them to obey him as if he were the Pope in person. All private coaches are made to carry the fascines for the bastions, and there is a talk of pulling down the churches of S. Paulo and Santa Croce in Hierusalem, which are two of the seven most famous churches, and which have so many devotees. Some of these measures are considered but of little utility, and cause much comment. Nothing more can be known about the amount of money to be derived from the toll on ground corn, as since the war broke out the population has diminished by about two thirds; so the conservators of Rome have issued a decree for the men who accompanied the women and

* Cardinal Carlo Caraffa commenced life as a soldier and quitted the Imperial service in consequence of a dispute about a prisoner of war taken by him when under the command of the Duke of Alva. Carlo Caraffa challenged his comrade who had possession of the prisoner, and when on his way to Italy for the duel, was arrested by the Emperor's order, and confined during some months at Trent. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 337.)

† Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal of Santa Fiora, whose imprisonment in Castelsantangelo has been already recorded, was a staunch Imperialist.

1556.

children to return within five days under penalty of losing their property moveable and immovable, and of being eternally dishonoured and considered infamous.

In ordinary times Rome consumes annually 110,000 *rubbi* of grain,* amounting to 9,000 per month, so that the ground-grain toll of two crowns per *rubbio* ought to yield monthly 18,000 crowns, and although it was said the Pope would levy this toll and spend it on the fortifications, a report nevertheless circulated of fresh taxes on wine, salt, and oil. The other day a Roman gentleman, one Bernardino Caffarello, when the Pope was at dinner, offered him the property, blood, and souls of all the Romans, which somewhat soothed his Holiness, who in part estranged himself from them owing to their lack of courage. Amongst the Romans and the merchants the government has distributed some 90 of the "Knighthoods of the Lily," receiving in payment so much wheat at the rate of 48 "*giulij*" per "*rubbio*," which will perhaps be sold to the bakers at a higher price, and thus will the "Chamber" obtain the money for them. This morning Cardinal Caraffa and the Reverend Vitellozzo, with some Romans were appointed for the purpose of making a depôt of grain, wine, vinegar, and grease (*grassa*), of which things there is greater need than was supposed.

The Government acts with great severity against property taken out of Rome without a permit, and in like manner against those persons who have failed to bring their grain into this city according to the orders given, on which account a few days ago some light horse were sent to sack a hamlet (*casale*) belonging to Messer Camillo Capranica.

During the last few days Cardinal Caraffa has been seen to enter the Pope's chamber alone, leaving the Duke of Paliano in the ante-chamber, which is said to proceed from the dissatisfaction which his rule has caused both to the Pope and Cardinal. Yesterday, which was the bad day of his Excellency's quartan-ague, he had so severe a paroxysm that when the Cardinal his brother went to visit him he was met by a groom of the chambers, who prayed him to allow his lordship to repose.

It is also said that the Pope has complained to the Cardinal of his having written from France more than the King said to him, which his Holiness comprehended both by what the French ministers have told him here as also by the scanty provision made by his Majesty for his assistance; but the Cardinal declares that he never wrote anything but what was told him, and that if at present they either cannot or will not keep their promise, he is not to blame for it. They have nevertheless great hope, and are therefore anxiously expecting a courier from France in reply to their letters of the 7th and 9th announcing the rupture, and on the evening before last they despatched secretary Bucchia to the most Christian King to give him account of what has taken place hitherto.

Yesterday evening the German troops from Mont' Alcino entered

* According to Boerio's Venetian Dictionary, the "*rubbio*" weighed twenty-one pounds avoirdupois.

1556.

Rome ; they are fine troops and well armed, forming two regiments (*insegne*), but they are not supposed to amount to more than 400 men, although at the commencement it was said they would be 1,500, and then 800. Cardinal Caraffa went to reside in the palace of St. Mark as written by me, but it is scarcely supposed he can remain there, having at every hour of the day to transact business with his Holiness.

The Portuguese Ambassador informs me that the siege of Oran in Africa has been raised with the assistance of King Philip's fleet, which was sent thither at the request of the Princess of Spain.*

Rome, 26th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

632. FEDERICO BADQER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The courier destined for Milan has been delayed owing to letters addressed by the Marquis of Pescara to the King, informing him that should the truce with France be broken in Piedmont there is great risk of his Majesty's losing some fortress there, from the despair of the soldiers, who, he says, are creditors for 14 arrears of pay (*di quatordecì paghe*) ; so before despatching the courier they will treat about pecuniary supply, and also about sending some for the soldiers on these frontiers, who are creditors for an equal amount, it being suspected, owing to the protest of the King of France, and from the account received from King Philip's ambassador at his Court that 6,000 Switzers are to go to assist the Pope, that from day to day there will be a rupture on these frontiers, and since the news of the capture of the Papal places by the Duke of Alva's troops, many of the chief personages of this Court are very apprehensive that your Serenity move to the Pope's assistance in case the Duke continue making progress. The deputies of Brabant give some indication to the King (with whom they negotiate daily) of consenting in part to his demand for money, but they insist either on his returning to Brussels or that he go to some other town in that duchy ; and these people here of Flanders, from fear of his returning to keep the Court there, have made an offer for this town alone to pay 600 crowns per month to the Duke of Savoy to remain here ; and an agent arrived to-day from the Queen of England to transact with his Excellency the usual necessary business between that kingdom and these provinces.†

King Philip has sent Don Juan de Mendoza de Riviriera (*sic*) as ambassador to Portugal, and Don Juan de Figueroa as warder of Milan in lieu of Don Juan de Luna, giving him an additional 1,000 crowns annual revenue.

Ghent, 26th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* Joanna of Austria, widow of John, Prince of Portugal and Regent of Spain.

† This agent seems to have been Mr. Anthony Hussey, Governor of the English merchants at Antwerp, and agent in Flanders ; and in Foreign Calendar, Mary, date Ghent, 26th September 1556, there is mention of credentials given him by the Duke of Savoy, acknowledging a letter from Queen Mary relative to his return.

1556.

Sept. 27.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

633. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday the Spanish Ambassador went to his most Christian Majesty, and in his King's name laid before him that he, owing to the Pope's proceedings, having been compelled to arm for the defence of his interests (*delle cose sue*), his ministers, without his order, had pushed forward, but that King Philip, desiring the quiet of Christendom, and also that the world might know the respect borne by him to the See Apostolic, had written a letter to the Duke of Alva, whereby he charged him to halt, and not to proceed farther, the copy of which the Ambassador showed his most Christian Majesty, adding that if he would pledge his word to King Philip that the Pope would not molest the kingdom of Naples, King Philip would desist entirely from hostilities (*che leveria del tutto le arme*).

To this his most Christian Majesty replied that with regret had he heard of these disturbances, because it was the duty (*officio*) of every Christian to pay respect to the Pope, and even should any misunderstanding arise, means ought to be found for adjusting it pacifically, and that if King Philip did not desist from his hostilities against the Pope, he, King Henry, was compelled to defend him, but that he would acquaint his Holiness with the performance of this office, and not fail to employ all means for the entire cessation of hostilities.

His most Christian Majesty has therefore been in constant consultation, the Constable advising him to dissemble, and not to break the truce, but to assist the Pope with money, and by negociation induce him to make peace, whilst the house of Guise and M. de Brissac demonstrate the necessity, in case the King of England continue the war, that his most Christian Majesty should do the like, but everything will be decided on the arrival of the next courier from Rome.

The deposit on the part of his most Christian Majesty is quite settled, Messer Albizzi, of the bank (*del bene*) (*sic*), under the name of the Guadagni of Lyons, having bound himself to disburse 150,000 crowns, and a German has agreed for as many more, which money will be paid to the Bishop of Lodève, in Venice, thus:—100,000 crowns on the 15th October, 100,000 on the 15th November, and 100,000 on the 15th December next, and the sums assigned in repayment (*li assignamenti*), which yield interest at the rate of 16 per cent., will be due in two years, one half to be paid annually.

M. de Scipier [Philibert de Mareilly, Seigneur de Sipierre],* who was sent by his most Christian Majesty to the King of Bohemia, has returned, and brings back word that he found him at Ingolstadt. He is understood to have obtained mere general expressions of goodwill towards the King of France, and assurance of his wish to continue in good friendship with him, and moreover, on some other occasion, to confer and form an intimacy with him (*di abboccarsi et stringersi con lei*), but that at present, being compelled to go to Vienna, he could neither stop nor say when he could realise his wish. As this compliment (*officio*) does not seem quite in accordance

* See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.

1556.

with the words uttered by him to the French Ambassador at Brussels, as his most Christian Majesty told me (and as I wrote to your Serenity),* it is inferred that the irritation which then possessed him has perhaps subsided.

The Duke de Guise, with his brothers the Cardinal de Guise and the Marquis d'Elbœuf, went lately into Lorraine and conferred with M. de Vaudemont,† informing him that his most Christian Majesty wished to replace the Duke of Lorraine in his State, as besides his being already of an age to exercise his authority in person (*di poter esser patrone del suo*), he wished to remove the opinion in circulation that he, the King, kept the Duke with him, as it were, in prison, and that when established in his duchy his Majesty would conclude the marriage between him and his second daughter, by which means he thought also to gratify the Count de Vaudemont by relieving him from the cares of government. In reply, his Excellency returned many thanks to the King for the goodwill evinced by him towards the Duke, both by replacing him in his State, as also by giving him his daughter for wife, but with regard to his own removal from the government Vaudemont answered very coldly; and I hear that having discovered how with this opportunity afforded by his removal the King purposed replacing him by some member of this Guise family, he, the Count, will not consent, and indeed he has made valid provision for the defence of the strongholds in Lorraine, in some of which he has put victuals and ammunition for three years, which being heard here, this scheme has been consigned to silence for the moment; and although it was said publicly that at Michaelmas his Majesty would confer his order of St. Michael on the Dauphin and the Duke of Lorraine, this likewise is deferred till another time.

M. de Selve is being sent by the King as his Ambassador resident at Rome, and M. d'Avanson (*sic*) will return, it being said that in case of the death of the keeper of the seals, who is at the extremity of life, they will give him that office, as also the generalship of the finances of the whole kingdom, all this proceeding from the many favours bestowed on him by Madame de Valentinois [Diane de Poitiers]. The King has arrived in this city, but not the Dauphin, who is a short way off, but unwell with quartan ague.

Paris, 27th September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 28.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

634. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A courier was sent hither last week express from Flanders, it being supposed he would find the Emperor detained in some English harbour, to let him know that the siege of Oran had been raised, but before his arrival, the wind having again changed to fair, and still continuing so, the sailors here were of opinion that the fleet was

* See before, despatch dated Morette, 2nd September 1556.

† Nicholas de Lorraine, Comte de Vaudemont, Duc de Mercœur. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

1556.

already but at little distance from the coast of Spain; so they sent the courier back.

The Queen, thank God, continues in her good plight (*nella sua prosperità*), rejoicing to see the monks of St. Benedict return to their old abbey of Westminster, into which, the canons having been removed, they, in God's name, will make their entry to-morrow, and this will be the third monastery and order of regulars (*di religiosi osservanti*), besides one of nuns, which has been hitherto re-established, to which will be soon added the fourth, of the Carthusians [at Shene], who have already made their appearance, to return, as they will, according to the promise given them, to their ancient abode eight miles hence, although it is now occupied by the Duchess of Somerset,* who is, however, to be recompensed with something else (*perhò per esser ricompensata con altro*).

The ambassadors of whom I wrote were recalled, but should it thus please the most Serene King, and if he approve of it, a doctor called the Dr. Martin has been named for France.

London, 28th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 82.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

635. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A courier has arrived from Rome, with news of the capture of Anagni, and that the troops of Spain were on their march to Velletri. Thereupon, consultations were resumed, and the Constable persisted in his opinion, which is to dissemble, whilst the house of Guise and M. de Brissac persuade the King that he cannot in honour fail to assist the Pope, and that it is no longer possible to consider the truce otherwise than broken. His Majesty at length decided that the truce had been violated, and that they must therefore provide for the war; and it was determined to protest to the Spanish ambassador, and then send 6,000 Switzers and 6,000 Germans into Piedmont, where from 8,000 to 10,000 Italian troops are to be raised, 400 spears being also sent thither to divert the forces of the King of Spain from Rome; and should this not succeed, although Parma has alienated itself from his most Christian Majesty, the Marshal de Brissac offers to march with this army into those parts. Yesterday the above-mentioned ambassador was sent for, and his Majesty told him, that hearing that the troops of his King were making daily progress against the Papal States, contrary to what he had told him was the will of King Philip, King Henry, not choosing to forfeit either his title of "Most Christian" or his promise made to the Pope to defend him and the Church, protested that the truce was to be considered broken; [that he held King Philip responsible] for all the loss and detriment thus caused to

* Anne Stanhope, by descent (in the female line), a Plantagenet, second wife of the Protector. In October 1551, at the time of her husband's arrest, she also was sent to the Tower, together with Mr. Newdigate, whom she afterwards married, but I know not in what year. On the 11th August 1553, on the accession of Queen Mary, the Duchess of Somerset was released from the Tower, and died 16th April 1587. She was buried in Westminster Abbey. (See Machyn, and Queen Jane and Queen Mary (Camden Society publications), and Collins, vol. 1, pp. 171, 172).

1556.

the Church and to Christendom, and that he would soon cause to be felt how great were the forces of his Crown. On hearing this, the Ambassador [Simon Renard, Lieutenant d'Amont] besought his Majesty to delay doing anything for 20 days, during which term he promised that his King would make all his troops retire; this demand being made by him solely that he might have time to let his King know what his most Christian Majesty had said to him, and that King Philip might be able to send an express to Italy. To this King Henry replied, that not being desirous of any fresh stir of arms, he was content to give him the aforesaid term, but that on its expiration, he would deem the truce to be broken. The commissions have nevertheless been despatched in every direction, with orders for all the troops to hold themselves in readiness, but not to march without fresh instructions; and although it is believed that after hearing this protest the King of Spain will not proceed farther, they will get everything ready during this interval.

Paris, 28th September 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 30.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

636. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news has arrived here that the Imperialists had occupied Tivoli, which is some 20 miles hence, the country being quite level as far as this city; M. De Montluc went hence with some Gascons to destroy the mills, and had scarcely time to save himself and withdraw the two companies in garrison there. The townspeople are supposed to have called the army to prevent the destruction of the mills and buildings, on which their livelihood depends, most especially as the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa had already given them permission to adjust their affairs with the enemy.

Tivoli is said to contain some 5,000 "*rubij*" of grain, much wine, oil, and barley, and of the 20 mills only six were injured (*guastati*), so this occupation will be convenient for the Imperialists; besides which, in their rear they have the Abruzzo, which may be said to border on Tivoli.

Here the Government is greatly blamed for placing troops in untenable places, and for leaving the enemy to avail themselves of so much food and so many conveniences.

The army is encamped (*allogia*) at Ponte Lucano, near Tivoli, on the river Anieno, now called Teverone, and they have sent horse and foot to occupy the small castles round Tivoli, so as to have none but their own places in the rear. On Monday morning the cavalry scattered itself over the "*Campagna*," and some of them came to a hamlet belonging to Messer Mario Bell'homo, two miles hence; others came as far as the vineyards, and took some beasts of burden loading wine for conveyance into this city, and as a bravado they came and touched the walls and the gate. Aurelio Fregoso was sent out, and at Ponte Mamolo, which crosses the Teverone, at no great distance hence, espied a very large body of cavalry, and

1556.

skirmished a little, but it was not an affair of importance, as being unable to withstand the charge, he retreated.

At 8.30 p.m. on that night the alarm was sounded here, with the usual shrieks of terror, though it was satisfactory to see that, besides the paid soldiers, the battalions of the populace and Roman gentry mustered very bravely. The cause of this stir is reported variously, but one of the chief captains has said that it was by order of the lords in command here, to see what they can hope for.

Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Somma, who came from Velletri, rode round the city, in order not to have need of receiving information from others, and M. De Montluc is outside with horse and foot to check (if he can) the extreme audacity of the enemy in coming up to the walls, and to inspect the bed of the Tiber, and the spot where the enemy may purpose crossing it.

The majority (although many are dreading every disaster) do not think that this army can storm Rome, though everybody declares that being masters of the open country they will soon straiten this city, and cause a want of everything, more especially of wine, meat, and other provisions, which causes great apprehension, there being but little hope of adjustment, and assistance seeming so remote that whether of troops or money it cannot arrive in time, armies not being raised so speedily, nor can they fly on their march, in addition to which the winter is at hand. Nor is there any money here, all the merchants having departed, so that it was impossible to find 5,000 crowns, and to have coined money sent would be hazardous, the roads being insecure. And here I will not omit mentioning a circumstance that it may be held in such account as your Serenity shall think fit.

The ambassador from Ferrara, talking in secret about the succour which the Pope might receive from Italy and France, said that the King must not remain looking on whilst the others are dancing; let him make an attack in Piedmont, and the others will play their part. Here, as commissioners for pecuniary supply, they have appointed the right reverend Montepulciano, the Reverend Treasurer and Bishop Vitellozzi, Aldobrandini and Giovan di Nepi, to consult and report to Cardinal Caraffa, but Vitellozzo expressed himself thus, that "*ex nihilo nihil fit*." The Pope's familiars either conceal everything, or at least do not give his Holiness the details of these reverses, in order not to sadden him. The 14 Spanish soldiers have been released, and Marquis Montebello will perhaps leave to-day for Bologna and Romagna, to engage 3,000 foot and some cavalry. The Reverend Governor of Rome was to have departed two days ago for France, and as he is going on account of this stir, he will probably remain as Nuncio with his most Christian Majesty.

The Germans who came from Mont' Alcino live according to their detestable custom, eating meat every day without distinction; and the Gascons do not desist from their acts of larceny, stripping people of their cloaks, taking bread and wine by force, and choosing to be masters of the women, although Cardinal Caraffa complained to their commanders, and threatened to punish them.

Fabricio de' Sanguini, son of Signor Ferrante, the Pope's relation, has arrived from the Emperor's Court, with a very gracious letter

1556.

from King Philip to his father, and respectful with regard to the Pope. He says that the rupture was not known at the Court, though they were indeed expecting news of the Duke of Alva's having taken the field.

It is heard that in the direction of the Abruzzo, the Count di Popolo has reinforced himself with horse and foot towards the river Tronto. Having obtained a copy of the letter written by the Duke of Alva to Cardinal S. Giacomo, I enclose it,* as besides its reported tenour as written by me, it contains some other particulars which were not then told nor are they mentioned at present, and I think them worthy of your Serenity's notice.

The Papal Government, to avail themselves of the Count of Pitigliano, have appointed him general of the cavalry; and to Mattheo Stendardo they give the command of the mounted harquebusiers, the report continuing that, should they not raise the whole 500, they will at least have 300. Yesterday officials were sent in the Pope's name to take note of the number of mouths for which they have to provide, that the necessary supplies may be more authentically ascertained, it being said that the heads of districts (*caporioni*) will also be charged to give a list of all persons subject to their Prior (*haveranno cargo di dar tutti quelli del loro Priore*).

On Monday, there was Consistory, which the Pope entered in a rage, nor would he give audience to any one. He apologised for not having held Consistory sooner, because he had had, and continued to have, many and very great anxieties about his own life and that of others. He said that to this army and to its chiefs he would send juridically a monitory (*un monitorio giuridicamente*), to let them know what censures they have incurred by waging war on the Pope and the See Apostolic, although he said he did not expect it to be of any use; adding that he would take care not to fall into their hands, and that if compelled to abandon Rome, he shall go to a place where he will be received, and aided to exercise his office, which most important words, have been held in very great account. He abused the Emperor in his usual language; of the King he said less evil, but what he uttered of his ministers was boundless.

Some Consistorial business was next despatched, and his Holiness wished to issue a decree, forbidding Bishops to hold dignities in any church, such as canonries, deaneries, archpresbyterships and the like, but the Cardinals endeavoured to prove to his Holiness that there are many mere titular Bishops, and others whose revenues are very scanty, and but for similar dignities they would be unable to maintain the episcopal grade, wherefore dispensations even for parochial benefices with care of souls were usually granted them. The Pope replied that those who granted such dispensations did not journey towards that bourne whither he is journeying, and that at any rate in the next Consistory he will pass this decree, and not only for the future, but also with regard to the past.

It having been told me that there were letters from France, I caused inquiry to be made of a person who could know it, and he

* Not found.

1556.

wrote me the enclosed memorandum,* without the day and without any signature, for a good reason. The capture of Tivoli, and the near approach of the army to this city, being of such great importance as they are, and knowing at these present times in what hourly expectation of my letters your Serenity will be, I have chosen to despatch to you Iseppo Tagliagola, who arrived from Venice to-day, (as I have but two other sick couriers here,) and I have desired him to be with your Serenity on Saturday before the dismissal of the College, in which case you will be pleased to have him paid 16 golden crowns, I having given him as many more; and he gave me your Serenity's letters of the 26th, containing orders which shall be executed at my next audience.

Rome, 30th September 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. ?

637. CARDINAL POLE to the ARCHBISHOP of GRANADA.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
pp. 70 verso &
71 recto.
No date of time
or place in MS.

Is much surprised that in his letters dated the 6th August the Archbishop makes no mention whatever of having provided for payment of the money due to Pole last St. John's day, and yet more is he astonished that after the admission of his claims by the judges appointed by the Archbishop's agents, he should persist in not paying him in golden ducats of the treasury coinage according to the tenour of the bulls, thus compelling him at each payment to make fresh protests, as he does at present, and to proceed against Granada by the usual course of censures, as he shall be forced to do, should it prove impossible by other means to make him pay in full, as the Archbishop will be obliged to do with greater inconvenience, having to pay the arrears all at once. It is needless for the Archbishop to allege his necessities for the purpose of inducing Pole to let him retain the money, as, from his grade and on all other accounts, Pole's need in this respect is much greater than the Archbishop's, and his income (*le facultà sue*) much less. Is certain that the intention of the Emperor [who made the assignment on the see of Granada] was and is that he should receive the pension in full, and without any diminution or drawback. For the rest, Pole will always be ready on every occasion to exert himself for the satisfaction of the Archbishop, nor would he hesitate to cede his rights to him, were he as much his superior in revenue as he is in station (*di carico*). Will await the Archbishop's orders in this matter after the receipt of the present letter, that he may know how to proceed.

[London, October (?) 1556.]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

638. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last night when about to despatch the accompanying packet, I was told that between 8 and 9 p.m., a courier arrived from France, and also that Ferrante di Sanguini had been for two hours with the

* Not found.

1556.

Pope and Cardinal Caraffa, to resume the negotiation for an agreement; so I detained the courier until to day, and thinking I might perhaps obtain some knowledge of these two important matters, I sent my secretary to the palace of St. Mark to speak to Cardinal Caraffa, whom he did not find, as he had gone out on horseback for the purpose, he said, of inspecting the walls, though it is believed to hold a secret consultation with the French ministers, who in like manner were all out riding. The secretary spoke to Aldobrandini (who may be styled the second person after the Cardinal), who, with regard to the letters from France, said he had not yet been with Cardinal Caraffa, so he knew nothing more about them, and thought that the courier was come merely from Lyons, and that as for Ferrante de' Sanguini he did not believe the Pope would listen to him, as the terms brought by him from the Emperor's Court (and which he is now endeavouring again to bring forward) purported that Paliano, not being fortified, should be held for the Church; that as compensation the King would give the Duke 14,000 crowns annual revenue in the kingdom of Naples; on the other hand, if fortified, the warder of Paliano to be a person in the King's confidence to guarantee him against its seizure by the French; which terms, imposing law on the Pope in his own territory, were rejected at the time, nor did Aldobrandini expect them to be accepted at present. All my diligence has failed to elicit anything farther, but I will write again on Saturday; and in the meanwhile to the bearer of this packet, in addition to what I write by the accompanying letter, in case he arrive on Sunday at daybreak, be your Serenity pleased to give four more crowns, as promised him by me should he reach Venice by Saturday at sunset.

Rome, 1st October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

639. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the protest made by the King to the Spanish ambassador, and the determinations about the Switzers and Germans, I hear that to both one place and the other the usual pay when making levies has been sent, orders being given that should the troops already raised in Germany by the King of Spain march towards Italy, these now made for France are in the like manner to move towards Piedmont, but if the Spanish levies remain stationary, those made for France are also to await farther orders; his most Christian Majesty being of opinion that if Spain keeps paid troops, it is for his dignity to do the like. In addition to this, on the expiration of the 20 days term taken by the Spanish ambassador, they are to be in complete marching order, and the like will be done by the 400 men-at-arms, but not before the 20th of this month, on which day in several places in France they make the muster-general of all the armed gendarmerie (*gente d'armaria armata*), which is a very rare proceeding, and in the meanwhile they will wait to see what takes place in Italy; though it is believed that the Spanish troops will retire, both as it is supposed that the Spanish ambassador would not have taken upon himself to promise their retreat unless commissioned

1556.

by his King to do so, and also because the confirmed opinion here is that King Philip does not choose to go to war with France, which is yet more ratified by a positive report, in circulation of late, that his Majesty will cross over to England for a few days, and proceed thence to Spain, whither it is said that he has determined to go and reside permanently, being persuaded thus to do by his Council, and to rule the rest of his States in the best way he possibly can; and the Abbot of San Saluto vouches for this. *Therefore, notwithstanding all these disturbances, it is hoped that the negotiation for the peace will continue, most especially as it is understood that a person came hither lately about this matter from the King of England to the King of France, and went back with a reply of some sort.*

Yesterday M. de Forcovoe (*sic*) departed on his way to the Duke of Ferrara, with the fresh resolve formed by his most Christian Majesty, which is to give him the title of his Lieutenant-General in Italy, with the authority usually given to the King's sons; he will have an annual salary of 24,000 crowns, and an additional 4,000 for his Lieutenant; he will be paid for 100 men-at-arms, according to the French fashion, which in that number comprises also 150 archers, and will be at liberty to pay them in the Italian manner, rating the archers likewise for their portion as so many men-at-arms; and in like manner they will pay him for 200 light-horse and 1,000 infantry in time of peace, and 2,000 and more in time of war, besides the pension and men-at-arms conceded to the Prince his son; but as the demand made quite recently by his Excellency was to have 1,500 paid infantry in time of peace, and as the King promises him but 1,000, the conclusion is not yet settled, though I have heard his Excellency will be content with this decision; *but besides this, there is an article in the league made heretofore between the Pope, the King of France, and his Excellency, that, in case offensive war be waged, the Duke of Ferrara on his part is to make a deposit of 300,000 crowns.*

On Michaelmas-day the King held a chapter of his Order [of St. Michael] here in Paris, in the church of "Notre Dame," with the greatest solemnity possible, in the presence of 24 knights, not including himself, many years having elapsed since so great a number have attended. The King created three new knights, namely, M. d'Andelot, the Admiral's brother, who returned hither a few days ago on his release from prison; M. de Senarpont [Jean de Mouchy], captain of Boulogne; and the Marquis d'Elbeuf, brother of the Duke de Guise and the Cardinal. A few days ago the wife of the Duke de Bouillon, daughter of Madame de Valentinois, departed for Flanders to see her husband, whose bodily health is not good, and he is known to be of rather weak mind at intervals from melancholy owing to his imprisonment; and she will shortly return with him at liberty, his ransom having been agreed to for 60,000 crowns.

Paris, 1st October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.

Oct. 2.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

640. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and Senate.

A friend of mine who is much in the confidence of the Spanish ambassador, tells me that the said ambassador assured him that his most Christian Majesty made no protest whatever to him about breaking the truce, neither did he, the ambassador, ask the term of the 20 days to effect the retreat of his King's forces; but that his most Christian Majesty did indeed speak to him very strongly (assai gagliardamente) with reference to the Pope, telling him that he regretted (si doleva) the course pursued by his King with his Holiness, whom he should be compelled to defend, according to the promise made to him, but that he, King Henry, nevertheless assured King Philip that he had no other league with the Pope than for his defence, and not for the purpose of attacking or invading the kingdom of Naples or any other State belonging to him. To this the ambassador replied, that whenever his most Christian Majesty should be content to treat the peace, even with the inclusion of his Holiness, King Philip offered to withdraw his forces, and to restore what had been occupied belonging to the Church, and that for this purpose Don Ruy Gomez would come here to the court, whenever it best pleased his Majesty, who answered him that he was always ready to negotiate the peace, and that Don Ruy Gomez would be always welcome; and when my friend inquired of the ambassador whether he was commissioned to offer this visit from Don Ruy Gomez, or whether he proposed it of his own accord, he replied, "I said it spontaneously, but I well know what I say."

I subsequently spoke also with the Abbot of San Saluto, who told me that the ministers here (questi signori) delayed giving him the answer to what he had proposed to them in the name of Don Ruy Gomez longer than they had promised him, and that the Constable, according to his usual fashion with him, spoke very harshly, complaining of the forms (modi) adopted by the King of England against the Pope, and that his most Christian Majesty was compelled to resent them, using other similar language; but that afterwards the Cardinal of Lorraine told him plainly that the most Christian King wished to give ear (voleva attender) to the negotiation of the peace, but with the inclusion of the Pope; and therefore, having considered the three forms of negotiating proposed to him, he was content, if the King of England would send hither, to send some one in like manner to his court; and if it pleased him to have a conference held between the ministers of one side and the other, he, the King of France, would be content to send his to the place appointed, but that he let King Philip know that let him send whom he pleased,—though his most Christian Majesty wished Don Ruy Gomez to be present,—he himself had determined that, on his part, this business should be treated by none but the said Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable; all which the said Abbot told me he had written to Don Ruy Gomez, and awaited a reply to it.

Paris, 2nd October 1556.

[Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

1556.

Oct. 2.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B.641. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome.
to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at 1.30 p.m. I went to the Pope, and found him giving the baton to the new Governor of Rome, the Archbishop of Sienna, of the Bandini family, who has been outlawed from that city, there being present the Cardinals Saraceno, Ariano, (*sic*) and Caraffa, and the Duke of Paliano. After dismissing them, the Pope called me, and walking up and down (*et passeggiando*), said, "You see, Magnifico Ambassador, to what we are brought by the tyranny of these heretics, whom God has accursed; they may be said to have approached to the gates of this city, and go plundering all the weak places of the Church, like iniquitous pilferers as they are (*come scelerati ladroncelli che sono*), not having the courage to touch the fortified places, such as Paliano and Veletri, but we hope in God that he will punish them, as they come against His Spouse without any cause, save because the Vicar of Christ will not be subordinate to them (*non vuol star sotto di loro*); nor were they ashamed to proclaim such great impiety by the very unfair terms which they proposed to us. We will rid ourselves of them; they are scarcely 10,000 infantry; and an inexperienced youth having by the grace of God become master of so many kingdoms, his first exploit is to take up arms against the See Apostolic, he choosing, under these auspices, to give proof of himself, and the why is, because he chooses to command us within our own territory and to prevent us from punishing one of our own vassals, an unprecedented instance of impiety, to conceal which they said that we purposed waging war on them, and that they, from fear, were arming in self defence; yet have they manifested to the world who wished the war, and who declared it.

"Think, Magnifico Ambassador, in what condition we should have found ourselves at present had we not been provided with this small force at our command! From any evil some good may be derived; through the loss incurred by us hitherto, we have gained the means of attesting our patience and great toleration (although provoked by many injuries) by not stirring, as the eyes of the whole world were upon us to see if we attacked. Now, no one will be found of such gross and vitiated intellect as not to see who moved the war, nor of such sorry judgment and ill-will as not to say that what we shall do will be done with every reason in the world."

It then seeming to me a good opportunity for executing your Serenity's commission about the office performed with the Emperor's ambassador, I said, "Holy Father, it is still possible that the Duke of Alva will come to some fair agreement, nor has the most Serene Signory failed to perform an office with the Imperial ambassador who is leaving Venice on his way to the most serene King of Spain, praying him to let his Majesty know, both by letter and by word of mouth, the extreme importance of this war, which might proceed in such a way as to render it impossible to apply a remedy when wished, beseeching his Majesty to give orders for coming speedily to some fair agreement with your Holiness"; and that your Serenity would also write accordingly to our ambassador with King Philip;

1556.

the Spanish ambassador, before his departure, strongly urging the Duke of Alva to the like effect; which the said Imperial ambassador promised to do.

The Pope said, "We cannot but commend this office on the part of those most sage Signors, but know that here the Duke of Alva, although very vain and inconsiderate (*vano leggiero*), is however not so utterly empty (*voto*) as to have moved in so important a matter without a commission, in addition to which we know the determination of the Imperial Council, in which there are a pair of arrant heretics (*un par d'heretici marzi*),* and we have discovered that that last conference which was determined on was full of fraud. Magnifico Ambassador, those lords of mine must make themselves heard in another form, because tyrants, like thieves, are naturally timid. You, by force and by making yourselves heard, made them make a Duke of Milan† (*voi li faceste far un Duca di Milano per forza et per lassarvi intender*), and we know that the fear they had of you induced them to do it. We will tell you freely, not as Pope, but as your loving friend, that should you not put your hand to this, you in this instance (*qui*) lose your honour and authority, for if Christ (who can do it) should do the work without you, you would thus incur great contumely, for you cannot say, It does not concern us. Are you not Christians? is not this a country common to all? have you not your share in it? and if this is the case, can it be said, It does not concern me? and if you see your mother cruelly treated can you, her sons, stay looking on? For how much slighter a cause, and how many times, did not your ancestors undertake their honourable expeditions?

"But besides the religion, besides the faith of Christ, besides the honour of Italy, are not the interests of your State concerned to the utmost? who is so blind as not to perceive that this is the vesper of your ruin! God forbid that they should succeed here, as they would come straight to visit you, for, as we have so often told you, there is nothing else remaining for them in Italy. Magnifico Ambassador, it is no longer the time for words; you must no longer delay; write what we tell you to those lords, for this matter concerns their profit and honour. We believe—nay, we are as sure as if we saw it—that foreseeing that we were about to effect the reform in earnest, and not fictitiously like the others, and that we had commenced eviscerating (*spolpar*) ourselves at a cost of some 300,000 crowns annual revenue, and that the rest of the Church revenues must necessarily follow (*et che a questo ne seguiria di necessità il resto*), the Devil therefore instigated his satellites to molest us with this war to turn us aside from so good a work; but the whole of hell will not have power to make us swerve from so fixed and holy a purpose, to which we are attending as we best may, and from day to day remove some of the many existing

* Query, Bernardin Antonio de Mendoza, and Antonio de Toledo. (See the list of King Philip's privy councillors in a despatch from Badoer, dated Brussels, 9th August 1556.)

† Francesco Sforza, appointed Duke of Milan by the Emperor Charles V., in the year 1529. The demand was made of him at Bologna by Gasparo Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador. (See Andrea Morosini, Venetian History, vol. i, p. 324.)

1556.

abuses ; for to tell you clearly, there is nothing that remains in the forms appointed by our Holy Fathers, and indeed those who read their decrees, and consider to what they are now reduced, will not recognise them, so greatly have they been perverted."

In reply to this, when I said that the Lord God would effect the peace, to give his Holiness an opportunity for rendering so pious and eminent a service to the world, and that he displayed such vigour as to warrant hopes of his living for many years to come, he rejoined, "Magnifico Ambassador, you are too partial to us, and too desirous of our welfare, but to promise one's self life is contrary to the commandment of the Lord God ;" and he alleged the authority of the most Holy Gospel, *vigilate quia nescitis diem, neque horam ; quod vobis dico, omnibus dico* ;* on which same topic his Holiness, after quoting the verse by Horace "*Omnem crede diem tibi illuxisse† supremum*," commenced discoursing about the said Horace, saying he was an excellent poet and a good moral philosopher, and that had he been of Christ's faith he would have proved such a preacher as to have made the world run after him (*saria riuscito tal predicatore che si haveria fatto correr dietro il mondo*) ;‡ and the Pope having then quoted several of his verses on various subjects, I, to soothe him, having added some others, commending his Holiness' recollection of things abandoned since so many years, I put him into so good a humour (*la ridussi in tal dolcezza*) that I thought I could not find a better opportunity for executing the Senate's commission about the affair of the right reverend Elect of Aquileia ;§ so availing myself of the very prudent reasons already learnt from your Serenity, and certain others suggested by his right reverend Lordship's agent Randonio, I besought the Pope to repeal the sentence of the "Rota," and send back the case *in partibus*, as it exists *in prima instantia* (et remetter la causa *in partibus* come quella che è *in prima instantia*), but that nevertheless, to gratify your Serenity so far as he could, his Holiness should be pleased to take information on the subject ; and the Pope having called the reverend President of the Chamber (*della Camera*), desired him to let the "*Decano*" of the Rota know, that after taking precise information about this case from the person whom I would send to him, he was then to go and report to his Holiness.

Thereupon I told the Pope that as the "*esecutoriali*" were already issued, and perhaps moreover near the end (*vicini alla fine*), I therefore requested him to suspend the execution until he had informed himself, lest the right reverend Patriarch designate incur some censure. The Pope endeavoured to turn the conversation, but as I insisted on this important point so earnestly committed to me by your Serenity, he told me freely that all he could do for the pre-

* Gospel according to St. Mark, chapter 13, verse 33.

† In the modern editions of Horace, this line in his epistle "ad Albium Tibullum," is printed "*omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum*."

‡ Horace was born at Venosa, in the kingdom of Naples, 65 years before the Christian era. Paul IV. thus implies that the Saviour had read Horace, who anticipated a passage in St. Mark's Gospel.

§ Daniel Barbaro, coadjutor of the patriarch Giovanni Grimani. (See Venetian Calendar, vol. 6, errata ; in the text of vol. 5, p. 333, printed erroneously "*Giovanni Querini*."

1556.

sent was to inform himself. I will have information given to the "Decano," and have already contrived so that the commission should be sent to him immediately, in order that, if feasible, some good may be done as soon as possible. I would also have spoken about the "*accessit*" for Brazza, had not the words uttered just before by the Pope (as above), viz., that the whole of hell should not have power to turn him aside from so fixed and holy a project as that about the reform, counselled me to delay.

I had the Turkish news-letters, contained in your missive of the 23rd ulto., read to his Holiness, who laid great stress on the forces of Sultan Soliman, as when he was not supposed to have 50 galleys out of Constantinople, he had 105 at sea, the Pope adding that with such great power it was impossible to prevent him from endangering everything; and having then been nearly two hours with his Holiness, I took leave.

Rome, 2nd October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 3.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7, B.

642. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I was lately visited by the Signor Aurelio Fregoso, who told me that one of his vassals in the service of a gentleman in the Imperial camp, made his escape from it because he had killed a Spaniard, and down to this time he reports the army as numbering 10,000 infantry, viz., 2,500 Spaniards, very fine troops, there not being a mere pikeman nor harquebusier amongst them without a steel cap, the rest being Italians, raw, and without armour (*disarmati*), but the infantry from Tuscany are expected shortly, and certain Germans and Spaniards shipped at Spezia. The cavalry amount to about 12,000, the men-at-arms and the Neapolitan gentlemen, whose service is obligatory, being in good order; but the light horse are not very good, and in no respect to compare with those of the Pope, nor do they amount to 200. He says they have a bridge more than 100 paces in length, with its pontoons, to throw over the Tiber, and that it is the intention of the Duke of Alva to come to Rome. Fregoso added that they will not storm this city, but that (to use his own words) they will take it by bread, as by raising a fort to defend their bridge they might cross the river whenever they please, and cut off their supplies from that quarter.

He said, besides, that on his return to Rome on the night when he made his last cavalry expedition (*cavalcata*), he found a guard of 50 foot soldiers at the gate, and the nearest reinforcement was more than two miles off, so that any night the enemy might force a gate before succour could arrive, which he represented to Cardinal Caraffa, and provision has been made by forming fresh bodies of guard forces to correspond one with the other, and they have divided the care of the fortification and the custody (*guardia*) of the city between Cardinal Caraffa, the Duke of Paliano, Marshal Strozzi, Montluc, and the said Fregoso, who also told me that he suspected that after the enemy has crossed the bridge the Duke of Florence will declare himself, to compel the Pope to come to terms before succour can reach him from any quarter. The Signor Leonardo

1556.

della Rovere, who was with Fregoso, told me that when with the Duke of Paliano, who was visiting M. de Giuri (the colonel of the last Gascons that came with Cardinal Caraffa), he being ill in bed with a double tertian ague (*con due terzane*), he heard the said Duke apologise for the irregularities (*li disorderi*) which have occurred hitherto, and are imputed to his Excellency, by saying that at the commencement he wished to go with the greater part of the forces to Frosinone, to dispute the enemy's passage, but was dissuaded by one who was more believed than he was, adding that if his retirement into private life could adjust the present disturbances, and that he who can command permitted him, he would do so willingly.

Aldobrandini being asked by one of his confidants about the monitory which the Pope in Consistory said he would send to the army, he replied that there had been much discussion about this, and that the Pope's opinion and his was to make a declaration that these Imperialists (*che questi*) had incurred the censures contained in the bull "*In cœnâ Domini*," and the penalties of being deprived, &c., and that he, Aldobrandini, drew up one minute, another being made by those who have more experience than he has about certain clauses required for similar matters, so that they might be in order, but that it was not yet quite determined to publish the monitory; the concession being moreover discussed of the greatest "indulgences" possible to those who shall assist the See Apostolic, as conceded to those who visit the Holy Land and perform similar acts of devotion. M. de Montluc has returned from his foray (*cavalcata*), having merely burned a few boats on the banks of the river, to deprive the enemy of them, for which he is blamed, as they might have been brought to Rome, where they are needed, most especially for the conveyance of wood. The Romans, to meet the present necessities, are asking a loan from the prelates and the few wealthy merchants who have remained, promising them good security on their municipal revenues. Knighthoods of "the Lily" have been disposed of to the amount of 50,000 crowns, with which money they have purchased wheat, and also cattle from the slaughter-house; and this month they have commenced making the bakers give the Chamber (*la Camera*) from day to day what they get from the flour, amounting (the *Chierico di Camera*, Vitellozzo, says) to 15,000 crowns per month.

The Romans have asked leave of Cardinal Caraffa to send to the camp for an escort to enable them to sow, which he refused them for two reasons, the one that what was sown would be for the enemy, the other that the husbandmen would serve the army for spies.

Yesterday, on leaving the Pope, Cardinal Caraffa, feeling rather unwell, went to bed to repose, but to-day he got up to dine, and when I sent my secretary to visit him he replied that he hoped not to be ill, and on being asked whether there was any news, he said that the enemy's army was scattered over the places in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, towards Vicovaro* (*Vignar*) (*sic*), under which

* For notices of Vicovaro at this period, see despatches of Sir Edward Carne in Foreign Calendar, May.

1556.

place a part of it is encamped, and the troops within made two or three sallies, and somewhat molested those outside; and the Cardinal expected the besieged to defend themselves, as the position was a very strong one. He also said that the Duke of Alba has several times had it intimated to Signor Ferrante de Sauguni that he must depart hence, and he replied that he was commissioned by the King of Spain to reside with the Pope for his Majesty's service, in addition to which he replied that he had been ill all this time, as known to everybody; so the Duke told his son Fabricio that his father had misconducted himself by not obeying, as, had he been sure to die at one mile's distance from Rome, he ought to have departed thence, and that it was the office of him, the Duke, and not of the Signor Ferrante, to interpret the King's commissions; so it is believed that he will be forced to come away.

The Signor Matteo Stendardo has had 1,000 crowns with which to commence raising his 1,000 mounted harquebusiers; and 60 of the 100 light horse for which a commission had been given to a son of the late Signor Alessio Vitelli, arrived here lately. Yesterday, on my way to audience, in the Hall of Constantine, I met the right reverend "*Decano*" [Cardinal de Bellai], who, detaining me for a long while, said, "I have not failed to perform every good office for the peace, and just now I spoke about it to his Holiness, but it requires great address, for all that one raises up is subsequently pulled down." I told him that his right reverend lordship's good offices were known to everybody, and had therefore increased his popularity universally, because all men, in short, desire the peace as beneficial to the community, to which he replied, shrugging up his shoulders, "This consolation will remain to me, that I have done what it is in my power to do."

Had the Imperial army determined to cross the Tiber during these last two days, it would have been unable to do so, as the river is much swollen, so much so that I, who reside on its banks, have incurred some loss of wine and hay, in addition to so many other expenses which the nature of the times has subjected me to ever since the first day I assumed this legation until now, and God grant that yet greater be not in store for me; and I was compelled to stable my horses away from my habitation, but to-day the flood is subsiding, the sirocco sea wind which increased it having ceased.

It being now 12h. 30m. p.m., I hear through several channels that Vicovaro has been taken,* because the townspeople, despite the soldiers, opened a gate to the enemy, and the enclosed note has also been sent to me, purporting that it was taken from want of victuals. I cannot give your Serenity farther particulars, the hour being so late as to prevent me from sending anywhere to ascertain them, but I will not fail to do my duty in my next letter.

Rome, 3rd October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* Sir Edward Carne announces the capture of Vicovaro in a despatch dated Rome 10th October 1556. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 265.)

1556.
Oct. 3.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

643. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the French ambassador gave the King his most Christian Majesty's reply about maintaining the truce or not, on account of the Duke of Alva's proceedings against the Pope, and it purported that should the Duke not go to Rome his most Christian Majesty will on his part observe the truce, but in case the Duke attempt to do that also, he chose to be at liberty to make war where he pleased, being unable and unwilling to desert the Holy See Apostolic, exhorting King Philip at great length to charge the said Duke not to proceed farther, but attempt rather to settle the disputes by way of agreement. The King replied that, he being inclined towards peace, it always pleased him to hear words tending to that end, wherefore it was satisfactory to him to learn that his most Christian Majesty would observe the truce, as by his order the Duke of Alva was not to go to Rome, as he had already told the ambassador; and that as to coming to any agreement with the Pope, his most Christian Majesty might be always very sure from what was said above on the subject how much he desired it, but that the Pope had shown himself too averse to such a thought, though the King knew that the Duke of Alva being well acquainted with his Majesty's intention would not cease speaking about it.

The ambassador then stayed to converse with Don Ruy Gomez, who spoke to him in the same terms, adding that he was determined some day or other to do what he had so often told the ambassador he would do, and go in person and confer with the Constable Montmorency, and remain four days with him in one and the same habitation (*in una medesima stantia*), as he was mentally convinced that they would effect some good adjustment. The ambassador answered him that his intention was good, but that it would be better first of all for them to treat together here about the means for subsequently bringing the peace to a good end.

The personages of the Court here in general evince very great joy at the progress made by the Duke of Alva, and praise him vastly, saying that the King of France will not break the truce, more from inability than from disinclination to do so, wherefore the Pope will be compelled to come to some agreement; and they lay much stress on the Pope's anger against the Duke of Paliano and his other kinsfolk for having shown themselves so greatly inclined to accept the advantageous proposals made to them by the Duke of Florence in King Philip's name. It is also said that the 2,000 Spainards who were mustered in the kingdom of Murcia to succour Oran will now be sent to reinforce the Duke of Alva.

The nephew of the Cardinal of Trent, Signor Federico Madruccio, has arrived here, and from his conversation I comprehend that he is come not merely to kiss the King's hand and to offer him his services after his long imprisonment, but by the Cardinal's order to ask his permission for him to come hither in person to tell him by word of mouth what he cannot communicate either by letters or agents, about the many things required for the state of Milan,

1556.

telling me that the revenues there are forestalled until the year 1560; that the necessity for expenditure increases daily, and that had not his right reverend lordship increased the salt-duty by 49,000 crowns annually, and obtained permission to sell this fund, he would not have known how to provide for these exigencies.

The King received his nephew graciously, promising him employment, but would not consent to the Cardinal's coming hither, saying he had already sent him 200,000 crowns and every instruction by Count Landriano, who departed three days ago with an especial order for 100,000 crowns to be set apart exclusively for the fortification of several places on the frontiers towards Piedmont; and to-morrow Signor Federico will return postwise to the Cardinal.

To the Count d'Egmont the King has confirmed the commission he gave him to raise 600 horse at present according to his warrant in time of peace, and with an additional 1,000 in time of war.

The deputies of the towns of Brabant departed hence, announcing some intention to the King of performing good offices to induce their constituents to contribute to the subsidy demanded, and from the account transmitted by the Counsellor Fismach (*sic*), who accompanied them for this purpose, they persist in not paying, and used much foul language; so it is generally reported that the King is inclined to go in person and speedily to some of these places to inflict chastisement on the ringleaders (*capi*) of those towns who acted thus, and to reward those who showed themselves favourable to him.

The Spaniards accuse the French ambassador of having been in some degree the cause of this, by inciting his landlord, who is one of the chief persons of Brussels, not to consent to this demand; and they in like manner lay to his charge that he violently urged the Ferrarese and Mantuan ambassadors to write to their masters that they do very wrong not to assist the Pope to save him from perishing.

Yesterday I went to visit the Duke of Savoy, who is somewhat indisposed and had sent to say he wished to see me, and after telling me that by his advice the King would soon go to Brabant to punish several sectarian rascals (*diversi tristi huomini settatori*),* he then commenced talking about the advices from Italy, concerning what had hitherto taken place with the Pope, uttering very earnestly the following precise words:—"Lord Ambassador, according to my belief, God and the most Serene Signory can alone avert the great disasters hanging over Italy, so it would be well for the said Signory to mediate between the Pope and King Philip, who, it may be credited, will certainly not fail to accept fair terms of agreement." This his Excellency repeated several times, showing that he spoke designedly, and not by chance, always using very respectful words in honour of the Signory, and

* The sectarianism of these "rascals" was not religious, but political, and displayed itself by their leaguering together against payment of the subsidy required from Brabant.

1556.

rather more so than is his wont; repeating what he had told me on other occasions of his firm intention to send an ambassador to reside permanently with your Serenity, and wishing you to consider him your son and servant. I assured his Excellency that your Serenity had not omitted hitherto to perform many good offices with his Holiness and King Philip, by reason of the extreme desire for peace naturally entertained by you, and that I thought you would not fail to continue thus to do by means of your ambassadors, reciprocating his complimentary expressions, and adding that he might rely on good greeting for his ambassador, as deserved by reason of his own many most excellent qualities.

Ghent, 3rd October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

644. The SAME to the SAME.

The warder of Oran has been sent to his Majesty here, by the Count of Alcaudete, to give him particular account of all that has taken place since the retreat of the Turks and Moors from the siege of that place, and to let him know that if he will give him 10,000 paid infantry for a short time, he will make the expedition against Bugia, promising on his honour that should his Majesty form this resolve he will have cause to be satisfied. The said warder has been much caressed by the King and all the chief ministers, and they assured him positively that he should be despatched speedily. It is said that in proof of the Count's exploits having been very acceptable to the King, his Majesty will confer on him the dignity of Councillor of State, and on one of his sons, who is a churchman, a bishopric yielding an annual rental of 10,000 crowns.

To-morrow the Duke of Savoy will depart for Brussels to make the last trial whether the Brabant deputies will or will not consent to the demand for money, and on receiving his reply and news of the Emperor's arrival in Spain, the King will go to some towns in Brabant.

To-day the French ambassador went to the said Duke to inform him that the Duchess of Bouillon, who has come hither to see her consort, is the bearer of 30,000 crowns in ready money for consignment to his Excellency, and to request of his courtesy that he will grant time for payment of the remaining 30,000 to complete the sum stipulated for his ransom.

Ghent, 4th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

645. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiral returned with the fleet eight days ago, and being with him at the court, he told me he had accompanied the Emperor beyond the last headland of the island off Brittany (*sopra la Bertagna*), his Majesty not having chosen him to go farther, and that he left him on the 23rd ult. proceeding on his voyage with a

1556.

fair wind, in such good health and so cheerful that he seemed to him to have become younger ; and the Admiral was of opinion that as the contrary wind had delayed his return for five days, keeping him in Southampton harbour, during which time it blew fair for his Imperial Majesty, he, in a little more than three [days], will have either made the harbour of Laredo or Logroño or of Bilbao in Biscay.

Yesterday, the festival of St. Francis, whilst the Royal Council and the Legate were accompanying the Queen to vespers in the palace, they found in the antechamber of the chapel the Dean of St. Paul's [John Feckenham], with Sir John Cheke (*il Signor Chick*), they having been sent for purposely to that place, where, having thrown themselves at her Majesty's feet, the Dean then presented Cheke to her, earnestly beseeching his release, saying that, having recanted and returned (*ridotto*) to the true sense of the religion, he was deserving of the Queen's grace and clemency. Thereupon Cheke (*il Chico*), although briefly (as was told me), expressed himself in the same terms, to the effect that, having heretofore relied more on his own judgment than on that of so many theologians and doctors, very grave and most holy men, he had allowed himself to fall into (*si era lasciato incorrer in*) certain heretical errors, and that by the words and light (*lume*) of the Legate, and of the said Dean, and of some of her Majesty's chaplains, being convinced of the said errors (*conosciuto li detti errori*), he acknowledged (*confessava*) the reality and true presence of the body and blood of our Lord in the sacrament, and the supremacy (*il Primato*) of the Pontiff and the Roman Church, entreating her Majesty that in like manner as she had been gracious to him, so would she be benign to others, who, guided by the same judgment, had fallen into similar errors (*fussero incorsi in simili errori*) ; nor did he omit certain discreet praise of her Majesty and the King (*non pretermettendo modestamente alcune laudi di sua Maestà et del serenissimo Re*) ; everybody saying that, according to their fashion (*secondo il lor costume*), he spoke very suitably and piously, and gave general satisfaction. The Queen herself answered him, repeating briefly the summary of what he had said, and telling him that if, according to his demonstration, he did all that he had said, heartily, and continued to lead the life he promised, besides her grace and the King's, he would gain that of His Divine Majesty, which mattered more ; and thus ended the case of this Sir John Cheke (*di esso Signor Chick*), he remaining now at liberty, and restored to his family and wife (*et restituito alla casa et moglie sua*).

Nothing further has been heard about the King's return, and the Queen has determined to-day to despatch Francesco Piamontese, and to make Cardinal Pole again write to his Majesty, urging him not to fail giving both the Queen and the whole country the satisfaction which he has been so long promising them, and which is seen to be so necessary.

London, 5th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.

Oct. 7.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.646. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome,
to the POPE and SENATE.

Last night I received your Serenity's letters of the 7th desiring me instantly to inform the Pope that the magnifico secretary Capella was gone to the Duke of Alva to persuade him in your Serenity's name to make the agreement, and that I was also to let his Holiness know the reply given by you to the reverend Comendone, so I sent this morning to demand audience of the Pope, who sent me word that I was to go after his dinner, which was at 1 p.m. On my entering the chamber his Holiness dismissed Cardinal Saraceno, who was with him, and I then said, "Holy Father, the most serene Signory, both from their wish for the quiet of Christendom and of Italy especially, and from their devotion to this Holy See and to your Holiness in particular, have on every occasion performed many offices with the Emperor, with the most serene King of Spain, and with the Duke of Alva's agents (who went to Venice), for the purpose of commencing the peace on fair and reasonable terms, as by their order I from time to time informed your Holiness; and not content with the offices performed hitherto, they have determined to send one of their most distinguished secretaries to let the said Duke know by word of mouth the many evils and inconveniences attendant on wars, and those which would proceed from the present one were it to continue, and the uneasiness it would cause the Republic from their wish for the peace, praying him to come to some fair adjustment with your Holiness, who (from your natural goodness and by reason of the charge of 'Universal Father' deservedly held by you) the Signory felt certain would never reject it, were it reasonable and fitting for the benefit of Christendom."

I said that the secretary would then come to give account of his mission to his Holiness and to pray him to be pleased to concede to the world this precious boon of a good peace, his chief aim and object, as he had so often told me, adding that the reply made by the Signory to Monsignor Comendone was to that effect.

The Pope replied, "Magnifico Ambassador, we did not expect one whit less from the Signory, not only out of regard to us—for they indeed owe us something by reason of the great love we bear them—but on account of God, of religion, and of the faith of Christ; but remember that these enemies of God will do nothing whatever, but will content themselves with words, and in the meanwhile do the worst they can. We can do no more, we are well nigh exhausted; but thank God, they also are unable to do as much as they would; they are a handful of poor wretched fellows (*sono 4 scalzi*), and also in a state of semi-mutiny (*et anco mezi amutinati*), for the Italians are not on good terms with the Spaniards. Hitherto they have ravaged the open and defenceless places, being unable to do more—they did not even look at Paliano and Velettri; we outnumber them in infantry, but have fewer cavalry, and therefore hesitate to take the field. But to return to the subject: they will do nothing about the agreement; they will demand things which we will never do, as we would die rather than consent to an indignity; we will repeat what we have so often told you, because we know for certain

1556.

that their intention is to subjugate the whole of Italy, commencing with the Papal States as the most easy.

"The sack of Rome [in 1527] tended hereto; for the same purpose the Emperor came to this city [in 1536]; and to this effect may be attributed so many of his other evil operations at various periods. What they are doing at present is with this view, and " (to use the Pope's own word) "they have ensnared a truce with that other one" [the King of France] "to enable them to accomplish it more conveniently; they are all barbarians;" (*"et hanno imbrogliato (per dir la parola di S. S^{ta}) una tregua con quell' altro per poterlo far più comodamente; sono tutti barbari;"*) "for we may with truth call this truce another League of Cambrai. They are indeed things so evident that even the blind perceive them, in like manner as it is also apparent that the more the States of the Church are dismembered, the more is the ruin of yours approaching. Good God! what a fine opportunity you are losing! you might in fact be the arbiters of the world and direct Italy at your pleasure; were there living amongst you some of those subtle intellects (*di quei belli spiriti*) who existed heretofore, we should assuredly rid our shoulders of this expenditure, and close this door so that they [the barbarians] would never again enter it.

"Magnifico Ambassador, there is no time for delay; write to those lords of mine to do now what they will be compelled to do a short time hence, and let them do it whilst we have the breath of life, for this is their weal and defence, as the tyranny of those who make war on us without any cause is too manifest; and whereas at first they made the inhabitants of the places occupied by them swear fealty to the College of Cardinals and to the future Pope, so at present do they make them take the oath to persons appointed by the Emperor and the King of Spain. We have comported ourselves in such a form that neither you nor others can say with truth that we have given cause for this their impiety; we will indeed tell you that from the scrupulousness of our conscience we omit the performance of certain acts to which we are bound, such as privation of fiefs, kingdoms and empires, and if you wish us to tell you why, it is because we are surrounded by Cardinals of divers factions, nor do we choose them to have it in their power to say that we by our too great rigorousness (*con la troppo rigorosità nostra*) have brought the war upon ourselves; but when we can no longer stay here we will go to a place where we shall be able to exercise our authority, and the galleys are already prepared; if necessary for the performance of our office, we will go to the end of the world (*andaremo nell' estremità del mondo se bisognerà per poter far l'ufficio nostro*). Rely on it that we will die rather than commit a baseness, and you will remain between the shears (*nelle forfice*), and in your distress will think of me, who told you the truth, and posterity will wonder at you for having lost so fine an opportunity."

I commended the Pope's adroit mode of proceeding, saying it was prudent to delay doing any things which can be done at any time, and which once done give many occasions for troubles. The Pope rejoined, "This is [the cause of] our forbearance (*questo è il nostro rispetto*), and we are glad you praise it; we will await this secretary

1556.

of yours, for this office pleases us, but much more would it please us to hear that the Signory was preparing to defend her own territory. In a word, is it possible that those Signors, who of yore were so far-sighted, do not now see whither this flood tends (*ove tende questa piena*), and will not guard against it? They will wish to do so when no longer in their power, *rebus excisis et perditis*, yet would they still be in time; and in conclusion, Magnifico Ambassador, we tell you that although we know assistance to be remote, and that in the meanwhile these Imperialists (*questi*) can do us great mischief, yet will we not consent to terms unworthy of the grade held by us, we not being like the other Princes who can renounce what they have for the avoidance of greater detriment, whereas for us who maintain the cause of God, its abandonment is forbidden, and life and everything else must be sacrificed for it."

After repeating to his Holiness that the world, and Italy in particular, and above all your Serenity, could receive no greater boon from him than peace and an adjustment made on fair terms, saying to him, "*omnium oculi in te sperant, Domine*," I took leave, and having expressed a wish to see Cardinal Caraffa, the Pope replied, "You will do me great pleasure by seeing the Cardinal."

I found the Cardinal in bed, surrounded by his mother, his sister-in-law [Violante Garlonia, Duchess of Paliano], and other relatives, whom having sent away, he made me sit down by the bedside. I asked him about his malady, and he replied that it was a complaint of the stomach, which could retain nothing, accompanied by a very troublesome cough, and occasionally by fever which was then upon him, and that since many nights he had been unable to sleep, adding, "I wonder I did not die, having on my arrival found matters in the confusion they were, for it was impossible to imagine greater, and to see the Pope plundered (*che non si potriano imaginar maggior, et veder il Papa assassinato*), and led astray (*abarrato*) (*sic*) by his ministers, upwards of 2,000 crowns having been spent in raising infantry, of which not 10 were fit for service, some of the commanders being either lads, or men who had never seen war. God forgive the Lord Camillo Orsini, who has attended to nothing but fortifying Rome, commencing bastions in a thousand places, and not finishing one of them, and by destroying houses, vineyards,* and monasteries, causing a general outcry. It was well to fortify Rome, but her real strength was in making provision for Frosinone, Veruli, and Anagni, and to keep the enemy at a distance, and not to show this population the fear of war, for your Excellency will have seen the terror of the city on hearing that the enemy was so near; besides which, there was a want of every sort of victuals, though since my return I have had some 30,000 measures (*cubiti*) of grain collected, and wine, and other necessary things, as also some ammunition, of which there was very great scarcity; and of this I lay the blame on the Lord Camillo, of whom I had so good an opinion by reason of what he did at Parma,

* Amongst these vineyards were, probably, the Farnese gardens, the loss of whose trees is alluded to in an undated letter of Cardinal Pole's, which I have placed under the date of 15th September 1556, my supposition being based on a paragraph in a former despatch of Navagero's about the Farnese palaces.

1556.

that when I was in other habits, I wished for an opportunity to go to a war in which he was commander-in-chief, that I might learn; but the fact is that vigour in military matters departs with age. Though I do not acquit the Duke my brother of these disorders, yet is there some excuse for him on the plea of illness, and then (to say the truth) he is not much of a soldier (*esso non è soldaio più che tanto*). The Pope has many thousands of soldiers, but I know not whom to trust to fight a battle, for there are no commanders good for anything. I remember that when I was a soldier I used to make diligent inquiry about any projected expeditions, that I might request the commanding officers to send me with them; but now, no one offers to do anything, and if sent, they know not how to act in any way; and when I wished to avail myself of the commanders who came with me [from France?] without any charge, they were never able to lead the soldiers to the attack. I made 1,000 infantry march out of Veletri to Nettuno, where the enemy had only 750 men; two Neapolitan soldiers who were amongst the 1,000, pushed on in advance and killed the first sentry, and because the second discharged a harquebuse all the others ran away; but I am expecting 7,000 foot soldiers, part from Romagna and part from La Marcha [d'Ancona], with which I hope to replace these vagabonds."

I said that the provision made by his lordship was such as expected from his valour, but that yet better for the whole of Christendom and for Italy in particular would a good peace be, towards which I knew he was inclined; and I then told him what your Serenity had done about sending the secretary Capella to the Duke of Alva, and the reply given by you to the reverend Commendone.

The Cardinal said, "God grant that some good may come of it, as always desired by me for the universal benefit, and for the especial satisfaction of the most serene Signory, and of you yourself, lord ambassador, whom I wish extremely to oblige. God knows how much I did to bring about the peace, and how disposed I was to go to the conference, although sure to die, and not merely to be made prisoner as was their intention, and I can prove it, as I am informed that they debated about arresting me under pretence of the Pope's having imprisoned Pirro dell' Offredo, but his Holiness did not consent to my going. I told these Imperialists what was for their good, and reminded them of what befell them heretofore when they chose to occupy the Papal States, instancing Lautrec, and other precedents, and alluding moreover to the peril they expose themselves to (besides the censures already incurred by them) lest the Pope make a great number of Cardinals opposed to them, so that they can never hope to have a Pope, I will not say their dependent, but not even a neutral one. Then when in the congregation (*nella congregazione*) I demonstrated the unfairness of the articles proposed by them, that they might have cause to modify them, and I showed them the discordance between the first and second and the others; for the two first were fair and suitable, the one was that of an inferior, the other of an equal; but the third and fourth, and the others were those of a superior, and imposing law on the Pope;

1556.

and as those who favoured them made a distinction in the affair of the prisoners, between his Holiness' subjects, and public persons the vassals of the Emperor and the King of Spain, I let them know that the only public person in the business was Offredo, against whom no case is made out (*non si fa caso*), nor indeed ought he to be proceeded against, as he is in fact guiltless if he was deceived by his master, who sent him to treat peace and simultaneously waged war. I showed that Garcilasso, having finished his embassy, had taken leave of the Pope and left Rome, and then returned to plot against his Holiness and this city, and there are the letters from him confessing this. The Abbot Brisenga had been the agent of the late Viceroy of Naples [Don Pedro de Toledo], after whose death, remaining a private person (*restato privato*) like the other prelates, he was commissioned to poison a Cardinal (*ebbe maneggio di attosicar un Cardinale*), to which effect there are the letters of Don Bernardino Mendoza and of the Duke of Amalfi. Against the Signor Giulian Cesarino and the two Colonnas (Camillo and the Archbishop) there is no lack of private complaints, besides this last plot of Camillo's wife which was revealed to me by a religious (*da un religioso*), who came one night to St. Mark's to tell me that a certain woman had prayed him in the confessional (*in confession*) to let me know that in a certain house there were four individuals who were privily raising troops against his Holiness; I had the spy arrested, and they were discovered; and a young Moor (*un Moretto*) in the service of Farnese confessed everything, how he had been sent to the camp by the wife of Camillo Colonna to urge them to come to the principal gates of Rome (*alle porte maggior*) (*sic*), and in the morning, as they would be open; and when the Moor asked the lady what he was to reply in case of inquiry as to who kept guard in those parts, she answered, *Ask no more, for they well know who guards them*. In this manner everything was discovered, as also the written notes which went in and out of the Castle;* so this lady has been arrested, as also those servants of theirs who were concerned in the plot, which was the cause of my changing all the guards. In the next place, as they said that Marc' Antonio Colonna had been deprived of his state because he was the servant of the King of Spain, I told them that it was untrue, as proof existed of his having been to Paliano to persuade the peasantry there to hold out against the Pope, as he (Marc' Antonio) would soon succour them, and there are letters of his urging the Duke of Alva to march against the Pope; and as they inquired, *What has his father the Lord Ascanius done?* I let them know that he had been *deprived* by Pope Paul III., and that the mode of his restoration under Julius III. was notorious; in addition to which, after having been cited to Rome by a monitory at the suit of some of his creditors, not only did he not obey, but caused the houses of those poor suitors who had had him summoned, to be levelled with the ground; or if he was unable to appear because a prisoner, let them

* From this it may be inferred that "*porte maggior*" signified the gates of Castle St. Angelo, and not of the city of Rome. The wife of Camillo Colonna was Felicità Orsini di Bracciano. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," Index.)

1556.

allow him to do so now, when the Pope will not fail to do him justice, as he did by the Lord Paulo Giordano Orsini, who made his appearance, whereupon his state was restored to him, and he is in the Pope's service."

I thanked the Cardinal for this information, and when I asked him what the Imperial army was doing, he replied that the Italian infantry disagreed (*lissantiva*) (*sic*) with the Spanish, and that the cavalry suffered (*pativa*); that the Spaniards were quartered in Tivoli with the Duke in person, the Italians at Vicovaro (Vignar), St. Angelo, and other small castles, and the cavalry at Palestrina. When I asked in what direction he thought they would turn, he replied, "Some say to Rieti, others to Velletri, but I think they will come upon this river, and I understand that some boats to form bridges have already arrived at Nettuno. They will make the bridge in order to forage on this side the river, at least with the cavalry, to damage us and victual themselves conveniently, as although they have found great plenty of grain and other necessaries, the army nevertheless suffers, because the captains have taken possession of everything, as nowadays (*hoggi di*) war has degenerated into trade" (*la guerra è ridotta in mercantia*).

I did not go to the Duke of Paliano, as this is his bad day (*suo giorno cattivo*).

There is no ambassador nor agent here from the King of Spain, nor from the Duke of Alva, but in order not to omit doing all that can be done, as I see is the wish of your Serenity, I will go and speak to the Cardinal S. Giacomo, the said Duke's uncle, that he may exhort his Excellency in favour of this so greatly desired and advantageous peace.

Rome, 7th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

647. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday last a Cardinal who professes great friendship for your Serenity sent for my secretary, and in a long conversation with him said, "Secretary, we are in a bad way (*siamo a mal partito*); every day we are losing fresh places, and of such a sort that if provisioned they might be called impregnable, and we shall continue losing for the future, as there is neither town nor castle that can hold out, as the inhabitants, who heretofore defended themselves spontaneously, in order to remain under the See Apostolic, now compel the soldiers to surrender, seeing that the Imperialists, so far from maltreating them, repeal the exactions with which we had long burdened them by quartering there ill-paid cavalry and infantry, who live at discretion, as you see they do here likewise; '*quid facient hostes capti crudelius urbe?*' and if this small army has made itself master of so much that if during the winter they have time to fortify it, 20 years would not suffice for the whole Christian world to expel them thence, what will be done on the arrival of the Germans, the troops from Tuscany, and those Spaniards that they are expecting? Those who think to keep Rome when the surrounding country is taken deceive themselves, for a city in which the Pope and the Court reside cannot

1556.

stand a siege, by so much the more when it contains, as this one does, a population discontented on several accounts, both by reason of the useless destruction of public and private buildings, as also because of the imposts and the insolences of the soldiery, and from extraordinary dread of immediate famine, or next year at the latest, from being unable to sow; nor does any one dare say that the enemy will not cross the river, as they can do so whenever they please by means of the bridge they have, but even if they had it not, when the fleet is in these seas can they not go where they please? And, moreover, might they not blockade the Tiber with galleys and bridge them over (*et sopra farvi il ponte*)?

"I assert that we could not be in worse condition, both because the enemy is powerful, as also because we are very weak. We have no money, and there is no merchant remaining in Rome who could disburse 1,000 crowns, nor have we either ammunition, victuals, or a commander-in-chief, for the Duke of Paliano neither knows how to act nor can he (*non sa nè po far*); the Cardinal never had command of more than a company; the French commanders disdain to serve under others; the Lord Camillo [Orsini] attends to Rome alone, and will destroy it through the loss of the Campagna (*et c'ol perdere la Campagna la roinerà*). The command of the cavalry is in the hands of the Count of Pitigliano, who has never seen war; the infantry (according to report) having for its commander Paulo Giordano [Orsini], who to-day appeared at the muster in that capacity, he being a lad 17 years old, who never saw a sword out of its scabbard. The succours are remote, the King of France being unable to send either the Switzers or the men-at-arms across the Alps before the spring, and God knows whether he will choose to do so. Who assures us that the two crowns will not make peace together, as much to the disadvantage of Italy as they can? Is it perhaps not evident in what small account they hold us?

"But leaving aside ultramontane assistance, were the potentates of Italy to determine on assisting us at present, they could not do so in time—*utinam sim falsus vates*. In a month we shall have lost the rest. Our sole hope is in the agreement, which is very difficult, for the terms are iniquitous, and will daily become worse, and our obstinacy is very great; but we must not fail to insist and exhort, as the lesser evil. As nothing else can be done, is it yet worse to lose all temporal power and to hazard that which is spiritual than to accept such terms? God knows that I do not say this as an Imperialist, which I am not, nor ever will be such, but as a Cardinal, the Pope's servant, and as an Italian, who would not wish to see the King of Spain King of Italy, as we go the way to make him. I tell you that the Duke of Alba has given it to be understood that unless peace be made now, the time may come when it will no longer be in his power to concede it, or to prevent the mischief which accompanies war, after the arrival of the Germans and of the other troops expected by him."

After this the Cardinal, with the map before him, spoke in detail about the whole of the Papal States, showing in how short a time, and with what facility, the Imperialists can get possession of everything, saying, "What they may be unable to occupy will go into

1556.

the hands of the French, under pretence of their being defended in the same way as in Piedmont, and during an interregnum of the Papal See each side will keep possession; and should a Pope be elected to the disapproval of either of the parties, the dissenter will hold what he has in hand, the consequence being that the Popes must of necessity declare themselves either Imperialists or French, and therefore be constantly at war. For God's sake let us not demur about points of honour, as by drums andarquebuses we have already lost what authority and dignity we had. In the German Diets these new opinions of the Protestants (*de' protestanti*) gain strength daily; and here, in the camp, and at Naples, where, to say the truth, they have incurred the censures and interdicts, they perform divine service solemnly and hear their masses. You see what account they hold us in.

"The Duke of Florence has not yet stirred, and seems to be urging the agreement, but he does so by pregnant letters (*lettere pregne*), which make me very suspicious, as he writes that the whole point consists in satisfactorily guaranteeing the Imperialists against direct or indirect molestation in their kingdoms and states, as they do not choose to remain in fear, having been but too much harassed of late years." Concerning this matter the Florentine ambassador told my secretary heretofore that the Imperialists considered it certain that the Pope had agreed with the King to make war on them in the spring; so the Duke desired his ambassador to let the Pope know this (as he had done), that his Holiness might be aware that the whole point consists in ridding them of this suspicion, which they call certainty, and that the terms demanded by them tended to this end; the ambassador adding, "Think not that my Duke would wish to see the Emperor or the King of England greater in Italy than they are, as it is not for the interest of any one, and this may be inferred from his having tolerated the revolution of Sienna, in which he never interfered until he saw the French make themselves masters of it, his Excellency's object being to preserve his state by such means as are in his power, this being fair, and thus will he do always."

In conclusion, the Cardinal said to the secretary, "Let the ambassador know what I have told you, that he may not lose any opportunity (in which respect I am informed that he has not been deficient hitherto) for exhorting the Pope to make peace, for the good of all Italy, but pray his Magnificence not to speak about this to any one, a request which I make to you also, as you know with whom we have to do, whoever does not speak in their fashion being pronounced a rebel, though whatever is said is evidently for the common weal, and especially for that of the Pope's family."

Rome, 8th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8.

648. The SAME to the SAME.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7, B.

Vicovaro (Vignar) (*sic*) was taken as written by me, and the army halted at Tivoli, according to Cardinal Caraffa's account.

Here it is greatly feared that, let them go where they will, they with little labour will make themselves masters of great part of the

(Second Letter.)

1556.

Papal States, by reason of the good treatment hitherto received from them by the captured places, whose inhabitants moreover are much attached to the Colonnas and other barons of the Imperial faction now humbled (*abbassati*), such as Santa Fiora [Guido Ascanio Sforza], Cesarini, and others, and it is already seen that Nepi, 20 miles from Rome, the first fortress of the Church (*prima fortezza della Chiesa*), has not chosen to admit the garrison of 200 infantry which was sent thither, and to excuse themselves the inhabitants sent ambassadors, to whom the Pope has not yet given audience. On Sunday they made the muster of the infantry and cavalry now in Rome; they made their appearance well armed, and the review took place beyond Borgo towards Belveder, at a site called "the Meadows." There were 13 standards (*stendardi*) of cavalry and 48 ensigns (*insegne*) of infantry; but the former did not amount to 600, and the latter were under 7,000, both horse and foot, including many "*passadori*," that is to say, persons who appear at the muster and do not serve; and these troops are now being paid, company by company. On that same day, at 4 p.m., some cavalry arrived here with money from Venice for account of the French to the amount of 50,000 crowns (though it is said to be much more), which have been placed in a chest in Rucellai's bank, and the Pope for his third had added 20,000, as according to report such is the agreement, namely, that for the defence of the Pope the most Christian King is to defray two thirds of the cost and his Holiness one third, the additional 10,000 crowns being in liquidation of supernumerary expenses incurred by the Pope.

These 20,000 crowns were obtained with great difficulty, persons having been sent here and there to borrow them. Great severity is used against those who delay giving the horses, of which note was taken (as written by me) for the harquebusiers; they send the sheriff (*bargello*) and the superintendent of the galley slaves (*l'aguzzino*) to seize them forcibly, and they moreover arrest the owners if by chance they fail in the least to use due despatch. It is said that the value of the horses will be placed to their credit in the Chamber (*in Camera*), but on condition that such horses as return alive shall be taken back in the state in which they may find themselves.

The Gascons continuing to kill and rob all persons found by them abroad by night, and many naked corpses having been found in the streets and floating down the Tiber, the "conservators" purposed speaking to the Pope about it, but the Marquis of Montebello, who is lieutenant of his Holiness' guards, prevented this by fair words, telling them to speak to the Cardinal and the Duke, who would make provision, without giving this trouble to his Holiness. It remains to be seen what will take place, but unless a remedy be applied some great disturbance is expected.

The new Governor, who is paying his visits to the Cardinals, was commissioned to tell each of them in courteous terms that in these present times when victuals are so scarce, it would be well that they should disburden themselves of part of their attendants, dismissing the Spaniards, Flenings (*Fiamenghi*), Walloons (*Flandresi*), and the like; and that if they have heavy harquebuses for

1556.

artillery practice (*archibusoni da posta*), falconets, or any other sort of heavy fire-ordnance (*arma grossa da fuoco*), they must give them for his Holiness' service; and a great Cardinal says that in reply he requested the Governor to let the Pope know in his name, with all reverence, that the expulsion of the subjects of the King of Spain will be effected by one order and their non-return by another, because [when recalled?] they will with reason think themselves authorised to say, "Go not thither, as they expelled you," and they will thus palliate (*honesteranno*) the withdrawal of their obedience; and, touching the fire-arms, he said that but little trouble was needed to ascertain what Cardinals had any, as they have such a variety of servants in their houses that they cannot keep anything whatever concealed.

This same Cardinal also said that he had seen letters from the Duke of Florence, dated the 3rd instant, purporting that Spaniards, Germans, and Italians were still embarking for the camp, so he believed the Duke of Alva had halted to await their arrival. His right reverend lordship complained bitterly of the present calamities, and of the obstinacy (*durezza*) of the Pope, whom he believes to be quite bent on war, so that he considers the ruin of this Court to be well-nigh appointed by fate. He said that Bortolo Camerario, of Benevento, who has been lately appointed commissary-general for the victualling department, told one of his most intimate friends, as a great secret, that if he wishes to supply provisions he should do so speedily, as in a few days such innovations are to be made that a morsel of meat will cost a crown, and other things in proportion, implying that everything will be taken for the Chamber (*per la Camera*). Even at present the sale of wood is prohibited, and some extravagant tax is imposed daily on every sort of food, so in a few days it is feared that we shall be reduced to a scarcity of everything.

This Cardinal added that the Imperialists have drawn up a number of processes about all that the Pope has done and said, to be able to justify themselves before the world. Your Serenity perceives how confidentially everyone speaks with your representatives and servants, by reason of the trust they have that the whole will be kept quite secret, and if by misfortune the contrary were to happen (a thing I am not afraid of, by reason of the singular prudence of the most excellent Senate) your Serenity may imagine what a loss of credit and authority it would entail, and how the channel through which authentic intelligence is obtained would be closed, to the Signory's very great detriment; so with every sort of reverence and submission, I beseech you that not only at present but at all times my letters may be kept with such secrecy as is peculiar to the most illustrious Senate of Venice.

The day after my last, the wife of the Lord Camillo Colonna was put into the castle (of St. Angelo), and although many persons assign various causes for this, I refer myself to what Cardinal Caraffa told me.

It is not to be told how much consolation has been derived by the whole of this city from the news from Venice of the mission of the secretary Capella, and how much everybody commends the

1556.

prudence of your Serenity; and many Cardinals having sent to ask me if it is true, I answered them in the affirmative, adding that your Serenity omits no office whatever for the attainment of peace. That Bortolo Camerario, who has been appointed commissary-general, is a native of Benevento, and of yore the Emperor and his ministers made use of him in many matters, and most especially in raising money; subsequently, he got out of favour with the deceased Viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro de Toledo, in consequence of which he departed and came to the Emperor's Court, when the most noble Messer Domenego Morosini and I were at Spire,* and as he was not despatched to his liking (*et perchè non hebbe quella espedition, che le desiderava*) he went to France, and is now here in office as written by me, and with a monthly salary of 100 crowns. He is considered a man of ability, and abounding in contrivances (*et ricco di partiti*).

Cardinal Caraffa passed the last night restlessly, and without sleep; this morning he took medicine, which although it operated copiously, yet has no great improvement taken place.

It is this moment heard that the Prince of Bisignano, with cavalry, and 12 ensigns of foot, has arrived in the Imperial camp, about which, if true, I will let your Serenity know more in detail by the first opportunity.

Rome, 8th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

649. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbot of San Saluto has been with me a long while to-day, and discussing present events he told me he believed that the affairs of these Kings, both on one side and the other, were proceeding towards war, in such wise that if they advanced a little further it would be more difficult to find the remedy than it was at present, because at the commencement of the negotiation it seemed that his most Christian Majesty was content to give Piedmont to his son the Duke of Orleans, the King of England giving the State of Milan to the Duke of Savoy, but that both one side and the other had retracted; whereas were it treated for each side to keep what it holds, the King of England would be content, he considering it a hardship to deprive himself of the Milanese, whilst the King of France has great hope of obtaining it speedily, both because he is so persuaded by the Marshal de Brissac, and also because he is firmly convinced of the feebleness (debolezza) of the King of England, who, although he treats the Pope haughtily, yet does so solely for the sake of making a more advantageous peace, as for the rest he is assuredly in such a state as to be unable to make war.

Considering, therefore, of what importance it would be to the rest of Italy were his most Christian Majesty to make himself master of the Milanese, besides having this fresh understanding which he is about to conclude with the Duke of Ferrara, the

* Domenego Morosini was with the Emperor in 1552. (See Alberi, Venetian "Relations," series 1, vol. 6, p. 67.)

1556.

Abbot had written to Don Ruy Gomez (making a similar announcement here to the Ambassador of the King of England) that it was no longer time to remain inlexible, but, considering the interests of King Philip, devise fresh and more opportune remedies, amongst which one of the best was that his Majesty should take counsel with your Serenity for the quiet of Italy.

Parpaglia then dwelt much on the extreme importance of this understanding between his most Christian Majesty and the Duke of Ferrara with regard to hampering (per stringere) the Milanese, and he also remarked that his Excellency [the Duke of Ferrara] could have no greater inducement than that of augmenting his State, which he might conveniently do by means of the French forces, his most Christian Majesty in the treaty made heretofore by the Cardinal of Lorraine having promised to give him Cremona and the Ghiarra-d'Adda, if they were conquered; and the Abbot told me that in the aforesaid letters written to Don Ruy Gomez he had again represented what he said to him at Ghent about giving the said places to your Serenity, by which means they would greatly slacken the resolves of the said Duke.

The mode whereby Parpaglia proposed giving those places to your Serenity was that Cremona and the aforesaid Ghiarra-d'Adda should be mortgaged to you for such a sum as becoming, offering simultaneously to place all the money disbursed by you in deposit, so that your Serenity may place an equal amount for the defence of the Milanese, thus endeavouring to renew the league which the Emperor had with your Serenity; offering you besides, if within a certain fixed period King Philip appoint a duke of Milan, that the places mortgaged to you should remain freely yours, adding, moreover, an additional sum of money; and should his Majesty not name a Duke, that he be at liberty to return the money and to get back the aforesaid places. The Abbot also told me that the aforesaid Ambassador resident here considered this discourse much to the purpose (molto a proposito), and immediately dispatched a courier with his letters to the said Don Ruy Gomez. All this Parpaglia chose to let me know, being aware that your Serenity, desiring the quiet of Italy more than any other Prince, would well weigh the present negotiations; and talking with me at very great length of the wish evinced by your Serenity at all times to have a Duke of Milan, he said that the present King of England was of all the sovereigns in the world the most fitting to effect this, but that nothing would influence him so much as to know that your Serenity shared his wish, which he had often evinced to his father; and continuing the conversation, he at length allowed it to escape him that he should not be surprised were King Philip himself to propose to your Serenity to appoint a Duke to his satisfaction. Having listened to the Abbot attentively, I answered him in general terms, assuring him that nothing was more desired by your Serenity than the quiet of Italy and peace between these Crowns.

Paris, 8th October 1556.

[Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

1556.

Oct. 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.650. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

After the office performed by his most Christian Majesty with the Spanish ambassador, he gave the same commission to his own ambassador in Flanders that he might make a similar announcement to King Philip, and although here they wish it to be believed that his most Christian Majesty made the protest, it was not true that in his discourse he used that word, but he indeed described it to him (ma bene gli lo descriisse) without naming it to him, together with other words which had the same force. The reply received by the Spanish ambassador here purports that his King will be content to withdraw his forces from their attack on the Pope provided he be assured that both his Holiness and the King of France will neither injure nor molest the kingdom of Naples, and even if in the meanwhile his most Christian Majesty will not desist from his defence of the Pope, he prays him (la prega) that at least in all the other parts excepting that one the truce may be understood to continue in force, adding, in conclusion, that should his most Christian Majesty continue to raise troops, King Philip cannot but do the like; and with regard to the coming hither of Don Ruy Gomez, he replied that as the negotiation for an agreement has been commenced at Rome, it is superfluous for him to come hither, as he wished to do heretofore, for the sole purpose of setting on foot the aforesaid adjustment. The ambassador having made this statement to the Constable, his Excellency answered him that he knew these words were uttered with a view to keep back the most Christian King, who was nevertheless determined to assist the Pope.

Then, last evening, Secretary Buchiero arrived from Rome with letters dated the 24th, and the advices about the Papal States; he brings word that an agreement was being treated, and that Cardinal Caraffa was to confer with the Duke of Alva, but the Pope informs his most Christian Majesty that he will not make agreement provided he receive from him the necessary assistance, or even should the King wish his Holiness to give ear to the agreement, he would not stipulate it without his goodwill and consent; but he requests a speedy reply, and reminds the King especially that having been compelled to draw to himself (di tirar a se) a certain amount of troops which he had in garrison at Bologna and in Romagna, his Majesty might induce the Duke of Ferrara to declare himself in his favour, and advance some forces in that direction, so as not to leave it unprovided. From what I hear, the King, on receiving these advices, bearing in mind that the Pope is in such a state that he must either incur a serious defeat or make a disgraceful agreement, which might subsequently prove prejudicial to his most Christian Majesty, considering also that the reply given by the King of England shows that he wishes rather to make use of peace for treating (più presto volessi servire a trattatione di pace), his most Christian Majesty chose*

* Query, Buccioro. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

1556.

instantly to despatch the Ferrarese ambassador to his Duke with orders that should he not have made up his mind completely, on receiving the agreement conveyed to him by M. de Forcovoë (sic), that he (the ambassador) was to adjust it, as also any other difficulty, in such wise that nothing else may remain for concordance (da concordare), laying before the Duke the position of his Holiness, and the King's wish to assist him, persuading his Excellency to aid the Pope as much and as speedily as he thinks he can, especially by sending a certain amount of troops to garrison Bologna and Romagna, as requested by his Holiness.

It was lately determined to confirm the engagements of the companies of infantry and cavalry in Piedmont, and as they are creditors for eight arrears of pay, four have been sent them, with a promise to provide the others on the departure of Marshal de Brissac, who it is said will certainly return to Piedmont in a fortnight, with the Signori Biraghi and Francesco Bernardino Vilmercato, and other captains now here, the government being still intent on despatching them and the other affairs of Piedmont, together with the delegates who came hither some time ago, and have been sent back quite satisfied.

I wrote to your Serenity many months ago that all the designs of the Constable were directed towards the establishment of his family, owing to the promise received by him from the King that his Majesty would give his natural daughter, the widow of Duke Horatio Farnese [Duke of Castro], to his Excellency's eldest son, who was lately released from prison, for which reason the Constable was content to pay 50,000 crowns, nor would he otherwise have disbursed so considerable a sum. On his arrival here, the King, besides giving him the order of St. Michael, appointed him governor of Paris and of the Isle of France, promising, in honour of the marriage, to create him Duke and Great Master of France; and, besides the dower, his most Christian Majesty, to gratify the Constable, had also added an estate yielding him 15,000 crowns annual rental. At the very moment when his Majesty was with his Excellency, to stipulate the contract, the said son informed his father, through his brother, M. de Damville, in the best form of words he could, that there was no occasion to proceed farther with this marriage, because he had married a maid of honour to the Queen, by name Piennes (*Pienna*), who is very noble and also extremely rich. On hearing this, the blow struck his Excellency to the heart, so that he has been away from the court in retirement for two days, a prey to intense sorrow, although the King has been to visit him daily, doing his utmost to comfort him.

The conclusion of this marriage was effected in secret by them five years ago, and whilst M. de Montmorency was a prisoner of war he continued to be of the same mind, and on his return, although aware of his father's wish and design, he chose yet more stringently to confirm the aforesaid promise, from fear that the first was not perfectly valid; so as both one and the other are constant and

1556.

of the same will, no means have yet been found for separating them.*

Paris, 8th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

651. The SAME to the SAME.

The Ferrarese ambassador not having yet departed, I can add that the Spanish ambassador went yesterday to make the same statement to the King as was made by him yesterday to the Constable, showing that his sovereign would treat peace both with the Pope and with his most Christian Majesty provided he was sure that the kingdom of Naples should not be molested. His most Christian Majesty replied positively (formalmente) that he would never be the first to break the truce, and that he had often heard the fair words of his King, but that he was determined not to abandon the Pope. It seeming to the ambassador that by saying he "would not be the first to break the truce," the words were doubtful, and that his Majesty did not declare whether he considered it broken or not, he said to him that, having this doubt, he wished him to declare himself better; but as the King, in reply, repeated the same words, the ambassador then took leave, and was subsequently visited by the Abbot of San Saluto, who wishes by all possible means to renew the negotiation for agreement. Parpaglia inquired of him what he thought would satisfy his King, so as to make him sure that the kingdom of Naples would not be molested. The Ambassador answered that he would tell him, as of himself, that he thought King Philip would be satisfied provided his most Christian Majesty promised him that the kingdom of Naples should not be molested because (per causa) of Puliano, or of the fortresses made in those places.

All this was related by the Abbot to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who replied that neither the King nor his ministers know how to negotiate with this Ambassador, as he always professes to speak of his own accord, nor is any result in conformity with his words ever witnessed; adding that the most Christian King was determined not to abandon the Pope, and that great news would soon be heard, though he could not mention the particulars, as his most Christian Majesty had put all his counselors under oath not to say anything about them; notwithstanding which, never having had the wish to wage war, if the King of England, no longer by the mouth of his Ambassador, but through a special envoy sent by him for this purpose to the most Christian King, would let the King of France know what he wished, he would find him of the same good mind and disposition. When the Abbot rejoined that even without sending hither, the same inti-

* In the Foreign Calendar (Mary), p. 263, there is a letter from Dr. Wolton, also dated Paris, 8th October 1556, giving account of the engagement of M. de Montmorency to Mlle. de Piennes, and at p. 303 we learn on the same authority that M. de Montmorency married the Duchess of Castro on Tuesday the 4th May 1557, although Nostradamus had prognosticated that "on that day would be made an unlucky marriage."

1556.

mation might be made to the Pope, with whom the agreement was being treated, the Cardinal added, "It cannot but be well for his Majesty to announce what he pleases to his Holiness, but I tell you that if the King of England wishes for anything from his most Christian Majesty, he must let him know it in detail (particolarmente) through a person sent hither by him for this purpose, because, as I have told you, we do not understand the mode of negotiating of this Ambassador;" all which the Abbot repeated to him, and this evening they are sending a despatch to King Philip to acquaint him with it.

The talk about war, and the preparation for it, still continue, and a gentleman named Mendoza, who is always employed in ordinary to levy Switzers, is being also sent presently to Piedmont for that purpose, it having been moreover determined to send thither 20 infantry captains.

Paris, 9th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 9.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7, B.

652. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went this morning to the Duke of Paliano, and having told him what your Serenity and the Senate commission me about the going of the secretary Capella to the Duke of Alva, and the reply given to the reverend Commendone, I requested him to be pleased, together with the Cardinal his brother, to exhort the Pope to make peace, although his Holiness of his own accord, as he had frequently told me, was very ready to do so; and on this I expatiated, as the importance of the matter requires. He replied that it would give him little trouble to convince me of his promptitude with regard to the agreement, as he remembered having told me heretofore, with that loyalty and sincerity which he had always used in his conversations with me, that for the service of God and of Christendom he would be content to remain without state, and deprived of life, rather than be the cause of so much disturbance in the world as perceived by him to be impending (which I wrote at the time), and that he would now tell me besides, that he would never say a word about his state [of Paliano] nor about compensation, so as to prove first of all to the Pope, and then to everybody else, that he never chooses his own private interests to prove the slightest obstacle to peace; and that he assured me that his brother the Cardinal was of the same goodwill, as they saw clearly that the war was very injurious for their family, but that for the Pope's dignity they are bound readily to risk all they have, including life itself; for the which dignity his Holiness has at all times had so much thought, that now it will never be possible to make him do anything to blemish it. He then told me that what the Imperialists said about being induced to wage the war, because the Pope, with the assistance of the King of the France, purposed attacking them in the kingdom of Naples, was known to be a decided calumny (*espressa calunnia*), his Holiness not having sufficient forces for the invasion of a territory so full of infantry and cavalry, and of victuals, and so

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the origin of life, and shows that the most probable one is that of spontaneous generation. He then discusses the evidence in favor of this theory, and shows that it is supported by the facts of the case.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the problem of the evolution of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the evolution of life, and shows that the most probable one is that of spontaneous generation.

The third part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the problem of the development of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the development of life, and shows that the most probable one is that of spontaneous generation.

The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the problem of the extinction of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the extinction of life, and shows that the most probable one is that of spontaneous generation. He then discusses the evidence in favor of this theory, and shows that it is supported by the facts of the case.

The fifth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the problem of the origin of man. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the origin of man, and shows that the most probable one is that of spontaneous generation. He then discusses the evidence in favor of this theory, and shows that it is supported by the facts of the case.

The sixth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the problem of the evolution of man. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the evolution of man, and shows that the most probable one is that of spontaneous generation. He then discusses the evidence in favor of this theory, and shows that it is supported by the facts of the case.

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The eighth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the problem of the extinction of man. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the extinction of man, and shows that the most probable one is that of spontaneous generation. He then discusses the evidence in favor of this theory, and shows that it is supported by the facts of the case.

THE
ORIGIN
OF
LIFE

1556.

well guarded; and then to say that the most Christian King would lend a hand is too heavy an accusation against his Majesty, who would thus have made the truce with the intention of breaking it so immediately; adding, "This was not the cause which induced the Duke of Alva's attack, for he had his eye solely on certain fortresses at the frontiers, and being of phlegmatic temperament (*et come quello che è di natura freddo*) did not think of assaulting, but the passions of the parties concerned, such as Mare' Antonio Colonna and Don Garcia de Toledo, and above all, Ascanio della Cornia, urged him to do so, the two first by means of their authority, and the last by imparting to him the small provision made by us, for he was present at all the consultations held here; and the Lord have mercy on the person who was the cause of our not having him in our hands."

He then told me that it had been his intention to go to Nettuno first, circulating a report that his object was to inspect those frontiers, and then proceed to Velettri to arrest him, and he continued, "but the Lord Camillo [Orsini] said it would not be to my honour; I then thought of sending thither the Duke of Somma, but the same objection was made, viz., that it would be undignified for a Prince invested with the order of a King of France to go on such a business; so I was compelled to make choice of Papirio Capizucco, knowing that he was on bad terms with the said Ascanio; I gave him autograph letters to the captains there, (not choosing to trust secretaries), ordering him also to enter the place and do the deed (*et far l'effetto*), but the poltroon, who does not deserve the bread he is eating, went with armed men, to beat of drum, which was the cause of Della Cornia's escape. I must bear this patiently, as I also did the non-provisioning of Frosinone and Anagni, which was not altogether my fault, as besides the fit of illness which seized me, I was, moreover, dissuaded by those in authority; for I wished to go and shut myself up in Frosinone with a considerable force and keep them at a distance, as I well knew that we outnumbered them in infantry, in like manner as their cavalry exceeded ours; and knowing very well what sort of infantry can be raised in the kingdom, as the recruits are all pickpockets (*ladroncelli*), who take a first instalment of pay and then abscond (*che pigliano una paga et fuggono*), as chanced to the Duke of Alva, some 2,000 of whose infantry disbanded. It is true that in the town of Otranto, and in Calabria, and in the neighbourhood of Naples, some 6,000 good soldiers may be raised; but our misfortune is, and thus have my sins willed it, that the Imperialists did more than they expected, being impelled principally by Ascanio della Cornia; but my Lord Ambassador, *non est abbreviata manus Domini*. Although we might hope to recover our losses, and to make progress against the enemy, I shall always recommend peace, for the common weal and for the most serene Signory's satisfaction and yours; and I am grateful for the announcement made to me through your Magnificence of the mission of this secretary; but God grant it may take effect with these Imperialists, whom I know very well from my long experience of them, which convinces me that after gaining a finger they choose to have an arm, and then the whole body.

1556.

Perhaps for the future they will meet with greater difficulties than they have encountered hitherto."

Having uttered these words, his son the Marquis entered the room, saying that the Cardinal would dine there, which caused the Duke to tell me that on Wednesday night his right reverend lordship's life was in danger, five days having passed without his being able to retain food, nor could he sleep at night; then came a fit which left him quite senseless, even his pulse ceasing to beat, and the fever which was not perceptible externally was at work within, so that they feared the worst; but in the morning the Duke with great difficulty made him take a little manna, which saved his life, for it purged him of so many and such malignant humours that it got him out of danger, and gave hope of his being soon well.

At 1 p.m. on that same afternoon I went to the Cardinal St. Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo], and after narrating to him your Serenity's wish for peace, and the offices performed on your behalf with the Emperor and his most serene son, and with the Duke of Alva, and what will always be done with the said Duke by the secretary Capella, I told him you had commissioned me, were there any ambassador or agent here of those most serene Princes, or of the Duke of Alva, to do the like with them; so, as there were no such representatives in Rome, knowing how much authority his right reverend lordship had with the Duke by reason of their close relationship, and his own great goodness and good will (*voler suo*), and knowing also how much he desired the quiet of the world, and what good offices he had performed on every occasion, and that although grievously indisposed, he had determined to attend the conference, I went to him with the certainty that he would not fail to persevere in the good offices performed by him hitherto, and moreover, multiply them by reason of the increasing need, both with the Duke of Alva and with the Pope, so that one side and the other should be content with fair terms.

The Cardinal replied, that he thanked your Serenity for the good office you are performing, and me for the good opinion I had of him, saying, that if the conference took place, the peace would certainly be concluded, and that he would go to it willingly, although at the risk of his life, as God was his witness that he would gladly by death obtain this quiet for the world, adding that the Pope, whom he believed to be well disposed, stood too much on punctilios about dignity, and that he, the Cardinal, had told his Holiness that the honour of the world differed from that of God; that the honour of the world required certain vain [demonstrations of] repute (*alcune vane reputation*), and that of God, the relinquishment of part of one's own to avoid a greater evil; but that the Pope listened to him sometimes, and sometimes he did not; notwithstanding which, he, the Cardinal, would not utterly despair, and now that he began to recover from his illness, would not fail to perform the same offices as formerly, saying, he did not believe in ill-will on the part of the Imperialists, as the King of Spain was a good Christian, and in like manner the Duke of Alva, but that it had been proposed to them by their counsellors, whether it is not fitting to take the knife out of the hands of the raging father (*al*

1556.

padre furioso) who wishes to kill his son, this being caused by the words so often uttered at table by the Pope against the Emperor and the King of Spain and the entire Spanish nation, adding that he would take the kingdom of Naples away from them, and deprive them of all their States. The Cardinal continued thus, "God knows how often I have prayed his Holiness to abstain from them, as it was not to his honour; that a Pope ought never to utter a word until he had weighed it ten times, and that those he had spoken were such as would not be said of private individuals, still less of such great Princes, and who make profession of being good Christians." In short, the Imperialists having advanced with good intentions, and solely to secure themselves, he would still hope for the best, provided this side was not wanting (*non mancare*); and having again exhorted and prayed his right reverend lordship in favour of so holy an operation, I took leave.

Rome, 9th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

653. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Received yesterday your Serenity's letters of the 24th ulto., with copies of the announcement made on behalf of the Senate to the Ambassador Vargas, and of what was written to the King, as also the news-letters from Constantinople; so this morning I had audience, and on entering the usual chamber was stopped by Don Rny Gomez, who told me his Majesty was somewhat occupied, but that he would soon come, and when I told his lordship that after negotiating with the King I wished to have a long conversation with him, he requested me to say what I wanted immediately, as he had very much to do afterwards. When I commenced telling him what your Serenity had said to the Ambassador Vargas about some fair adjustment between the Pope and his Majesty to prevent the progress of hostilities and the many evils which they might produce, he interrupted me, saying he well knew that some of those most illustrious senators would fear that it was intended to take Rome; and then, with rather a troubled and angry countenance, he assured me that this was not his Majesty's intention, but rather to come to an agreement, which the Pope had hitherto failed to do, but that he hoped soon to hear of its having been effected. As he was then silent, and seemed to expect a reply, I told him that to my extreme satisfaction I understood his lordship to assure me that the King persevered in his wish for the agreement, and that his own opinion was it would take place, and that there was no fear of the Duke's going to Rome, but that I was anxious to know what I might write authentically to your Serenity on this subject, and that I therefore requested him to tell it me.

He replied that I should hear it from his Majesty, but that he would tell me confidentially that of his own accord he had thought of praying him to adopt the expedient of referring all his disputes to your Serenity; and with this he departed, telling me he would go to the King, with whom he remained a long while, so that he had time to tell him everything. When his Majesty came, after hearing from me all that your Serenity had said to his Ambassador

1556.

Vargas about the adjustment with the See Apostolic, he replied, "As I have often told you, I do not wish for war, either with the Pope or with anyone else, nor is it in my mind to take territory from anyone, nor will I allow myself to be deprived of my own; and as the Pope wished to take the kingdom of Naples from me, not only according to the words uttered by him, which would have mattered little, but by the fact of his arming, I gave orders to the Duke of Alva to do what was best, both offensively and defensively, and he according to military science (*seguendo la ragione della militia*) has not chosen to keep the war at home (*tenere la guerra in casa*), because, had he done so he would have been prevented from availing himself of the Neapolitan revenues, provisions, and other necessary supplies; and write to the Signory that I am very ready to make peace, provided I be sure of receiving no farther molestation in my kingdom of Naples, the which peace would perhaps have taken place had not Cardinal Caraffa failed to have an interview with the Duke as was arranged."

His Majesty being then silent, I said that with that assurance conceded by him to me heretofore to speak freely, as he knew my words to reflect the sincerity of my mind, I would tell him that having often written to your Serenity that his Majesty had assured me, as confirmed by Don Ruy Gomez, that he merely desired peace and the preservation of his own territory, I found that the operations of the Duke of Alva were at variance with what I knew to be the excellent intention of his Majesty, whose great prudence made me expect that he would take into consideration the many and various evils which might befall Christendom, as already represented by me to him, since by rendering the Pope desperate so great a conflagration would be kindled that it would be impossible to extinguish it so immediately, even if desired. I therefore told him respectfully that I wished for a more precise reply, indicative of the true object (*vero fine*) of the good intention demonstrated by him, because on former occasions I had written to your Serenity the substance of what he had said to me, and almost his precise words. On his repeating that he knew not what else to tell me, I rejoined, with a joyful countenance and in earnest language, that his Majesty being no less judicious, he by a little mental exertion would find so sure an expedient, that it would produce a good pacific adjustment; and after several other things said by his Majesty and myself, he came to the conclusion that after thinking better about this matter he would give an answer either through one of his ministers or by sending for me. At length, after having said that I hoped the Almighty would enlighten him with regard to what he had to do, I prayed him to let me have his decision before the despatch of a courier received by him, to my knowledge, from Cardinal Pacheco. This his Majesty promised me to do, doffing his bonnet very graciously, and using courteous language, evincing extreme satisfaction at what I had said in honour of the magnifico Ambassador Vargas, and announcing his firm intention of sending him back to your Serenity.

Ghent, 9th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.

Oct. 9.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

654. The SAME to the SAME.

In the afternoon his Majesty sent for me, as he said he would, and on my entering his presence expressed himself word for word as follows:—

“I have very well pondered all that you said to me this morning in the Signory’s name and of your own accord, as you did very lovingly and with prudent judgment, and like that good ambassador such as I have always known you to be; wherefore I, with my council, have determined to refer all my disputes with the Pope to the Signory. Let her act in one of two ways, either write to her ambassador at Rome, or make choice of another ambassador, to hear in the presence of the Cardinals the disputes between the Pope and me, and he will know with whom the blame rests; or else, provided the Pope consent, let the Signory judge these disputes without Cardinals or anybody else, as I place such trust in the State by reason of its deeds and from the words repeatedly uttered by you to me about the goodwill your Republic bears me, and always has borne his Imperial Majesty, that I think the Signory will do what is just and fitting; and I will write all this to the Duke of Alva and to my ambassador at Venice, should he not have departed, in which case his secretary will tell the Signory the whole, and you will know by facts that the things I told you, and which you say (as I believe) you wrote to the Signory, about my being inclined towards the peace, and not wishing for what belongs to others, are true.”

These words he uttered heartily (*con animo*), evincing much sincerity, and also with a cheerful countenance. After thanking his Majesty for the great trust which he said he had in your Serenity, and for the great esteem in which he held you, commending also his excellent intention of at any rate ending the disputes by means of an agreement with his Holiness, I added that this confirmed what I had written about him to your Serenity; and I then told his Majesty, as of myself (*come da me*), that I supposed the Duke of Alva in the meanwhile would not advance farther, but suspend hostilities, to give a true sign of knowing his King’s wish to make peace with the Pope.

His Majesty answered me, “I really do not know what he will do, but I believe that he will do what shall be fitting, nor would I that this should render the Signory suspicious, and make them believe that I have given him some secret order, which is really not the case, but I will indeed tell you that it is not to the purpose (*non esser a proposito*) for me to desire the Duke to suspend hostilities, because the Pope, on hearing this, would never come to terms.” I therefore, on taking leave, told the King that I departed with the firm intention of assuring your Serenity that his Majesty willingly and with great prudence would give all such orders to the Duke of Alva about this most important matter as were fair and necessary; whereupon the King, with a joyful countenance, and without farther rejoinder, dismissed me.

On leaving his Majesty I remained purposely to hold a long conversation with Don Ruy Gomez on the same subject, in order better to impress upon him the necessity for carrying into effect the com-

1556.

mission for the Duke of Alva ; and after telling him what the King had said to me, and commending his Majesty as seemed fit to me, he replied that facts would always prove what he had said to me about the King's love for peace in general, and desire to be always your Serenity's good friend ; and, giving me his hand, he added that I was to rest assured that between his lordship and myself we would make our two princes (to use his own words) "love each other like brothers." As proof that he had at heart what I said to him heretofore, and his own promise always to expedite your Serenity's affairs speedily and favourably, he had suggested to the King, and thus was it determined, to insert amongst the first articles of the commission to be given by his Majesty to the Duke of Medina Celi, whom he yesterday appointed Viceroy of Sicily, that in affairs relating to your Serenity's subjects, the said Duke, without writing to his Majesty, is of himself to decide any doubtful matter in favour of your Serenity. After fully reciprocating all his lordship's courteous expressions, I mentioned to him the following particular, that it had been my intention to request his Majesty, before the said Viceroy's departure, to have his Excellency called when I was present, and to charge him to have at heart your Serenity's affairs, but that I must confess that his lordship had done more than it was lawful for me to ask, of which courteous office I said I would give notice to your Serenity, whom I inform that the courier, who is in haste to depart, prevents me from giving any other news, save that by a courier just come from Spain it is heard that the Emperor arrived there safe.

Ghent, 9th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

655. THE SAME to the SAME.

This morning a courier from the King of France came to his ambassador, who, being in bed with fever, did not go to the Court, but from his discourse he is understood to have had a much more stringent commission than the former ones, to protest to King Philip that should the Duke of Alva go to Rome the most Christian King will break the truce in every particular (*in ogni parte*) ; but the Spaniards make it appear that these threats prove that they will not break it, as they say the French are accustomed to be silent when they mean to do deeds of this sort, and to talk when they have a contrary intention.

King Philip had licensed a printer to print the very long letter written by the Duke of Alva to the Pope before the war broke out, and subsequently he sent him an express order not to print it.

Yesterday a courier arrived here with letters from the Queen of England to his Majesty, congratulating him on the progress made by the Duke of Alva, saying, besides, that as he can feel sure of his Excellency's proceedings he ought to return to England ; it being supposed that the said courier was also despatched on account of the news received [in London] of the death of Lord Courtenay,*

* The Earl of Devon-shire died at Padua on the 18th September 1556. (See the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar under that date, p. 255.)

1556.

and in order yet more to encourage his Majesty, as by going now to that kingdom he with this opportunity (*in tal occasione*) might better arrange such things as are desired by him, and which as yet he has been unable to obtain; and since the coming of the said courier it has been reported that King Philip will have the stable department (*la stalla*) and the pages sent towards England, but few persons who are conversant with affairs here believe that this will take place so soon.

His Majesty has also written to the Duke of Savoy, at Brussels, that if the people of Brabant will change their obstinate opinion, and accede to the demand made by him heretofore for money, he will go to Antwerp to comply with their privileges in that particular, but that should they continue pertinacious he will come to Brussels to punish the refractory; and I understand that orders have been already given to send thither secretly some companies of infantry (in the same way as the Emperor did a year ago, when he sent Queen Maria to Antwerp) to secure himself against any stir which might arise should the King go there or have his intention carried into effect by the Duke of Savoy, who wrote to him yesterday that he found them almost as obstinate as at first.

The Grand Vice-Chancellor of the Empire came to me yesterday and said he was departing to-day on his return to Bavaria, his country, the Emperor having revoked the order given heretofore to send him, with the Prince of Orange, to the Electors of the Empire to let them know the cause of his going to Spain, and the powers left to his brother the King of the Romans, it having been determined to allow these powers to be printed, in order that all the "Estates" (*li Stati*) of the Empire and the world may know his intention. The Vice-Chancellor told me that as yet they had not allowed these commissions to be published here, having perhaps chosen them to be sent first of all to the Princes and Estates of the said Empire; and having had them translated into Latin, I send your Serenity a copy.*

King Philip has conferred the reward mentioned by me on the Count of Alcudete, and to the warder of Oran he has given a perpetual pension of 300 crowns and a donative of 1,000.

Ghent, 10th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

656. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Imperial army remains quartered in various places as mentioned in my last. The dependents of this Court say that it has halted from scarcity of victuals, and because they have not yet decided on their next undertaking, as also because many Italian soldiers have deserted. The adherents of Spain, on the other hand, say they have halted merely to give the men and horses a little rest, and to wait for the troops on their march from the kingdom of Naples and elsewhere; that the Prince of Stigliano has already

* This repeal of the Vice-Chancellor's mission implies that on arriving in Spain the Emperor modified the contents of the last letter written by him to his brother from the Low Countries, dated Zutbourg, 12th September 1556, and which closes the Emperor's correspondence, and may be read in Lanz, t. iii. p. 710-712.

1556.

arrived, nor can the Prince of Bisignano fail to follow him shortly. A friar who has returned hither from Tivoli, where he remained two days for his own private affairs, says they cannot prevent the troops there from doing injury, most especially to priests and friars, and that the horses are stabled in the churches.

Yesterday, the Duke of Paliano told me that the Prince of Stigliano narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade laid not far from Paliano by Giulio Orano, not for him, but for the purpose of making some plunder, adding, that he would have been a good prisoner, as he is extremely rich, so that he does nothing but buy, and may be said to have purchased half of the kingdom of Naples. Some particulars about this army, narrated by an eye-witness, may be read in the enclosed note.*

A trumpet, who returned from the camp last evening, says they had commenced paying the troops, and the Duke of Alva asked him whether they paid at Rome, and on being answered affirmatively, he added, "In that case we shall soon perform some fine feat," to which the trumpet replied that here they desired nothing else, and Ascanio della Cornia charged him, in his name, to kiss the Duke of Paliano's hand. The seizure of horses for the harquebusiers which was being made here is now modified, the Duke of Paliano having desired Mattheo Stendardo by no means any longer to send the sheriff (*barisello*) to effect it, but to convoke the owners of the horses specified, and to ask for them civilly (*con amorevolezza*), having them valued immediately, promising payment to the masters from the commanders, exempting the Roman noblemen natives of Rome from this seizure, but not those who have obtained that grade by privilege.

The Romans continue requesting leave to treat with the Duke of Alva for permission to sow, and hope to obtain it, as they have softened Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano, though it is true that the Pope still shows himself averse to it. The Florentine ambassador has had letters from his Duke expressing regret that the conference did not take place by reason of his wish for the peace, both for the benefit of all Christendom and for the service of the Pope, whom he wished to see out of so much trouble, desiring the ambassador to tell him that he will always show himself his most affectionate servant, and that he chose the said ambassador to serve his Holiness as he would himself.

With this letter he had audience after me on Wednesday, and the Pope being quite soothed by it, and having said that the Duke had reason to wish for the peace, as it turned to his account, the ambassador rejoined that it was true that the peace turned to the Duke's account (*facea per il Duca*), because he had a State between his Holiness and the forces of the Emperor, that the Lord God, and no one else, had given it him, and that he sought to preserve it by all means in his power, but that as the Duke had commissioned him to serve his Holiness as he would his Excellency in person, he would do so; that he merely served the Duke by always

* Not found.

1556.

telling him the truth, and that thus would he do by his Holiness, were he pleased to hear him.

The Pope replied that he was to say on, and the ambassador (from what he himself gave me to understand) added, "Holy Father, we must not hold in account what belongs to others; if my Duke (may God save him from it!) were to lose all his State, and your Holiness (which on many accounts I should not desire) to lose a particle (*particella*) of yours, which would grieve you most, the total loss of the Duke's state, or that of your own small portion?" He replied, "My own small portion" (*il mio poco*). "Then" (continued the ambassador), "let us attend to what is for your Holiness' advantage without thinking of the interests of others. I will now tell you a secret, that the war, besides the other inconveniences to which it subjects your beatitude, causes you not to be Pope (*fu che ella non è Papa*), and if you ask me how, I will tell it you; it is because your ministers do what they please without your knowing anything whatever about it;* and that it be true, I sent an express to the Duke, with an account of my conversation with your Holiness at my last audience, since when five days have elapsed, in the course of which I ought in reason to have received an answer; so as it does not make its appearance it may be supposed to be intercepted, and that there are persons who choose to know what you discuss with the ambassadors, that they may be enabled to thwart your good intention with regard to the peace. As they did this, thus do they act in other matters also; and this being the case, how does it seem to your Holiness with regard to being Pope (*et essendo così che per alla Santità vostra che sia Papa*)?"

The Pope remained pensive, and said, "We thank you for having given us an idea, of which we will avail themselves." The ambassador added, "Holy Father, you must remedy another matter, and not exalt certain persons who through the war are great and esteemed, and in time of peace find themselves in low condition, as outlaws; and others, who here are "*Monsignori*" of this place and that, and when in France remain six months without seeing the King. Were your Holiness to close your ears to those folks (*costoro*) I know you to be of so good and holy a disposition that you would embrace the peace, and comprehend that the Imperialists are moved solely by their suspicion of your having made some agreement with the French, or that our wish for peace is not true. Your Holiness cannot deny having said so several times publicly, and the Pope's words are credited (as I told you heretofore), because the Duke wrote it to me. By relieving the Imperialists from this suspicion everything else will be adjusted according to your own wishes. I do not say that you should tear (*strazzi*) yourself from the French, to become an Imperialist, as it would not be well (*non stare bene*), but that your Holiness with all your family should by facts show yourself neutral; and if Cardinal

* By the contents of Navagero's despatch, dated 4th August 1556, it may be inferred that the persons here alluded to were the Florentine outlaws, Monsignor della Casa and Silvestro Aldobrandini, and the Neapolitan, Monsignor Bozzuto, as also the kinsfolk of Cardinal Caraffa.

1556.

Caraffa, perchance owing to some promise given by him to the King, cannot consent to this, let your Holiness act alone, as his right reverend lordship can always say that he was unable to oppose your will."

The ambassador was listened to quietly, and thanked for this office, and he moreover says that if he could be alone with the Pope and dispose Cardinal Caraffa to listen to the proposals (*le cose*), dissembling them, however, the agreement might be set on foot, as they would not fail to give his right reverend lordship the archbishopric of Naples and something else, and to the Duke such things as would satisfy him and which he could be sure to retain, whereas they may rely on losing what they have at present, immediately on the accession of a new Pope; *saying that he knows what he says, because the King of Spain imparts to his Duke the orders given to the Duke of Alva, and perhaps something more; and adding, as a great secret, that the King sent his Duke the commission for the present movements (delli presenti moti) which he was giving to the Duke of Alva, with orders for his Excellency to adjust it as seemed fit to him, and that the Duke cancelled many things which were overmuch (che erano troppo); so if the Pope gave it to be understood that he wished for the peace, and would renounce the French intrigues (le pratiche Francese), it would soon be arranged.**

He said he had chosen to let me know this, as he saw your Serenity intermeddling with this good and holy work. It may chance for me occasionally to write in cipher, as I did the foregoing four times, from suspicion that the letters may be intercepted by one side or the other, which I mention lest at first sight, before reading them, the cipher startle your Serenity. Owing to the outrages perpetrated nightly by the Gascons an order has been issued for no soldier to quit his quarters without a written license from the commanders, and it is believed that this provision will be useful.

Having receiving last night the enclosed letters from the Magnifico Capella, I sent my secretary to the Duke of Paliano, who said he would despatch a trumpet accordingly (*a questo effetto*), although he might have availed himself of one who on that day went to the camp with the Signor Ferrante de' Sanguini, who has at length obeyed the Duke of Alva. The trumpet departed this morning before daybreak, and by the Duke of Paliano's order came to me to see whether I had any other commands.

There are letters from France written by Cardinal Caraffa's agent on the 31st ulto., and they were brought by a courier who came in eight days and a half, purporting (from what has been said by a Cardinal much in the confidence of the French, and of those in command here) that the most Christian King is determined to assist the Pope, and that M. de Selve,† who left on the 29th, and will remain here as ambassador (the present one‡ having been

* The italicised passage in contemporary decipher.

† Odet de Selve. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," Index.)

‡ The predecessor of M. de Selve at the Court of Rome was M. Dabanson. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 264, date 8th October 1556, where Navagero's account is confirmed by Dr. Wotton.)

1556.

made Vice-Chancellor of the kingdom, the old Lord Chancellor [Matthieu de Longuejou ?], although alive, not exercising the charge), bringing word of the despatch of 6,000 Switzers, 2,000 French, 2,000 Italians, 400 men-at-arms, and 400 light horse; and this Cardinal says that Cardinal Caraffa feels certain that this resolve will be carried into effect, although formed contrary to the advice of the Constable. It is not written who will be the commander-in-chief of this army, but it is expected to march under M. d'Aumale, with M. de Termes as lieutenant; and although the straight course will perhaps encounter difficulties, here Cardinal Caraffa tells the Cardinal who gave this account that he hopes to have this succour at the end of November, because he is informed that the Switzers are ready whenever the King's money arrives; so they expect them to cross before the Cardinal of Trent can be ready to prevent their passage. Of these preparations, and of the news brought by this courier, the French agents here have neither any advice nor letters.

Camillo Colonna, seeing that his papers have been found, has confessed everything, and said, "What did my wife mean to do with these papers which she kept in the house?"

Don Fabio of Gubbio, the reverend *Decano* of the *Rota*, has been to tell me that having been told in the Pope's name that I was to give him information about a certain case, he had chosen to come to me from his wish to do what was agreeable to your Serenity, as becoming the obligation under which his late father and he are to your Serenity, his father having lectured so much to his honour on medicine at the University of Padua, where he himself in early youth lectured on the same science alternately with Soncino. After thanking him suitably I said that it was a question about the right of preserving the "*prima instantia*," which had always been exercised by the Signory, and that therefore your Serenity held this case in account, and that Randonio would acquaint his Lordship with the particulars; to which he replied, "Let him come when he will, I shall not fail, sword in hand, to defend the authority of that most illustrious dominion."*

Rome, 10th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, with contemporary decipher.*]

Oct. 10.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
pp. 180 recto &
verso.

657. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

The last advices received of the invasion of the Papal territory, have distressed him greatly, as Morone may well imagine, nor does he see what else he can do than pray God as he does constantly to allay this commencement [of strife] as soon as possible.

Both with King Philip and his ministers in England Pole has always performed such offices as he deemed opportune, and wrote

* As stated in a note to a former despatch of Navagero's, dated 2nd October 1556, this suit concerned Daniele Barbaro. That churchman, before his appointment to the coadjutorship of Aquileia, had been ambassador in England; and the Court of Rome, suspecting him of Lutheran opinions, seem not to have favoured his claims against a certain priest, by name Antonio; but the grateful Don Fabio, having been in the Signory's pay as lecturer at Padua, came to the assistance of the patriarch-designate, and did what he could to obtain justice for him.

1556.

lately to his Majesty with such earnestness as becomes his legatine commission, and as the importance of this case requires. Should matters proceed further without taking some good turn. Should the King not come to England as he promises to do shortly, Pole will determine, as required by the urgency of the matter, to cross the Channel, which he will be enabled to do with a better grace, on receiving some particulars from Rome, according to the wish written by him to Morone heretofore, that he may negotiate more securely. Really this rupture and incipient conflagration is such that not merely Morone and Pole by reason of their grades about the Pope and in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but all private individuals likewise who desire the honour of God and the welfare of Christendom, must be greatly grieved and should be moved most earnestly to pray the Divine mercy to remedy the many and great evils which might thence ensue, and to confirm his Holiness' affection for all Christendom, and especially for such and so great a Prince [as King Philip], and his Majesty's filial observance towards the Pope and the Apostolic See, so that the enemy of the human race may no longer have the satisfaction of fomenting discord between those on whose peace and union the quiet and welfare of Christendom chiefly depend.

Is certain that Morone and Muzzarelli have always performed and continue performing all such offices as they deem expedient for the service of God and the common weal, and that in like manner as from their charitable nature they on every account feel the deepest regret for this universal turmoil, so will they pray devoutly for its speedy and opportune remedy.

London, 10th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12.

658. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
pp. 181 recto &
verso.

The Regent Figueroa, when delivering the King's letter of the 7th instant in reply to his last, communicated to him the news from Italy, which cannot but distress all those who desire the quiet and common weal of Christendom. Although Pole would have been convinced that his Majesty's piety must make him regret that matters should have been brought to their present state and wish speedily to put an end to this discord and distrust, yet can he not omit beseeching him, above all other considerations, always to bear in mind, as becoming a Catholic Prince such as he is, the reverence and observance due to the Pope and the Apostolic See, in which God has chosen His Vicar to reside, and, as head of the Church there, to be respected and revered to the utmost by all its members, and how by doing so, sure hope of the Divine grace and favour is given to all men, whilst by failing in this respect great fear may be entertained of the contrary, of which the Church has many examples both ancient and modern. Whilst on the one hand Pole's great affection and respect for King Philip, besides other motives, cannot but cause him great anxiety, on the other, nevertheless, his opinion of his Majesty's pious and Catholic disposition comforts him with the hope that by remedying the turmoil already commenced he will prove clearly to the whole world that no

1556.

accident whatever can affect or diminish his filial affection and observance towards the Church and its supreme head, as in its present debilitated state it ought to be greatly consolidated by the King's example, to the honour of God and edification of all Christendom, as Pole will constantly pray, beseeching the Almighty to favour and prosper his Majesty for the service of the Lord, and for the benefit of Christendom.

London, 12th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7, B.

659. FEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I left Venice on Sunday at noon, and although I encountered many difficulties, owing to that blessed suspicion of plague, which delayed my journey for a day, in the territories of Ferrara and Ravenna, and finally at Urbino, through which district, however, the Duke gave me an escort, I nevertheless, very early on Thursday, arrived at Otricoli, distant five posts from Rome, where I was compelled to stop to obtain information about the journey and accommodation with regard to horses and guides for my conveyance to the camp, without coming to this city, as I must have done had I crossed the Tiber at the usual ferry, the abutments (*bande*) of the others having been removed.

On Friday morning before daybreak I set out, and having crossed several mountains arrived late in the evening at Palombara, a place belonging to the Savelli family, from whence the next morning I sent to the Duke of Alva for a trumpet, who took me to Tivoli, where his Excellency was, and wishing to have audience of him immediately, on that same evening I made the demand, and he sent me word that it would be more convenient the next morning, as I might be tired from the fatigue of the journey; and so being introduced to him, accompanied by some captains, who came to escort me in his Excellency's name, after presenting my credentials I stated my commission, which I found to be so precise that it seemed necessary to me merely to add a few words about your Serenity's love and esteem for his Excellency, both from respect for the most Serene King, whose person he represented in his Majesty's kingdoms and states in Italy, and for his Excellency, by reason of his lofty and noble descent, and worthy parts. He listened to me attentively, and reciprocated my first expressions in loving terms, declaring that your Serenity will always find in his Majesty the same goodwill, as witnessed by you in his most serene father, he having the same intention and the same desire to be your good friend.

His Excellency seemed much gratified by my coming to him, offering always to be your Serenity's very good friend, as he had been, and as shown by him on such occasions as presented themselves. With regard to the statement made by me to him in your Serenity's name, he said that by his reply I should learn who was inclined towards the agreement, and who was not; and that first of all he would tell me this, that he desired no better testimony of the Pope's will and mind (*volontà et animo*) than could be rendered by your

1556.

Serenity, through the demands made of you by his aforesaid Holiness for union and a closer understanding. He then commenced telling me from the beginning the injuries received by his Majesty from the Pope, calling to mind the seizure of the galleys, the privation of Mare' Antonio Colonna, the arrest of his Majesty's friends, that of Don Garcilasso de la Vega, of the postmaster, and of the other prisoners, justifying their proceedings, all which things, he said, the King went tolerating (*andava tollerando*) from the wish always entertained by him for peace and quiet, hoping indeed that his Holiness would desist from them. At that identical time, his Excellency was preparing to betake himself into Lombardy, without the slightest thought of having to come to this extremity, but subsequently the privation of Ascanio della Cornia, and the writ of outlawry against him, the cause of which was assigned to his having gone over to the Pope's enemies, amongst whom the Emperor and the King were thus included, and the demand made in Consistory by the Fiscal Advocate* to deprive his Majesty of the kingdom of Naples, on which occasion and on others they did not fail to allude to their Majesties in terms which his Excellency would be ashamed to repeat, compelled the lord Duke to defend his Majesty's states (*le cose della Maestà sua*); so he mustered the army, not to attack his Holiness, but to deprive him of the means for attacking the kingdom of Naples, it being lawful for the son to disarm his father when the latter purposes striking him. It thus appears (he said) that his Excellency had been compelled to take up arms, solely in self-defence, whereas had it come to pass otherwise, and had not your Serenity urged him to lay them down, and moreover taken them up against his Excellency, you would have omitted to do what became you, but that he nevertheless did not expect the most Christian King to break the truce, as he had no reason to do so, but that he was at liberty to do what he pleased, as had been done by him on other occasions.

That his Majesty (King Philip) was not desirous of territory (*stato*) in Italy, as shown by the restitution of Piacenza, and that he would moreover prove this by depriving himself of other places when able to do so with honour and security, so great being his goodwill and wish for quiet. That from the Pope he wished for nothing, but that his Holiness should be pleased to consider him his son, as he does the other Christian Princes, and that he would favour and assist him to preserve the [Roman Catholic] religion in England and in Germany, and to increase it; nor from his Holiness would he ever wish for anything but what was more than fitting, and that this he promised him in his Majesty's name. That as for the affair of the peace, by reason of his desire for it he had betaken himself to Grottaferrata, and until nearly sunset he awaited there the Cardinals who were to have gone thither, but perceiving that they did not come, he returned to the camp, although 800 arquebusiers had been placed in ambush in that direction to capture him, but that his Excellency went well provided with an escort as required for his security, and on account of this journey he made the camp halt,

* See Navagero's despatch dated Rome, 27th July 1556; also Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 250.

1556.

which in the meanwhile might have attacked Velettri. From these facts, the Duke deduced instability, evil counsel, and also a mind averse to peace; concerning which his Excellency said he was of the same disposition as he had been heretofore, *but should there be any question of treating it, he knew that it could not be done through any better medium than that of your Serenity, as he should not trust others, knowing your authority, goodness, and comprehension of those matters*; it being his wish to make it in such a way as to give sure hope of its being durable, and not for three or four months. His Excellency added, that so long back as Friday or Saturday last they purposed again sending Friar Don Tomaso Manrique,* but as he has not come it may be supposed that the Papal Government (*questi signori*), having heard of my coming, chose to wait and see, and that therefore, when communicating this circumstance to your Serenity's ambassador here, it should be well pondered. He then said to me that he also desired this peace for his own personal sake, as he had need of rest, and of not always risking his capital (*il cavedal*), as thus to do so often as his Excellency had been compelled to do was perilous; that he had obtained seven fortified towns which might have held out, and many other places; that deputations had been sent a distance of 30 and 40 miles to tender him obedience, their constituents wishing to be relieved from the many burdens to which they are subjected, and that his Excellency had granted them this, exonerating them from the duties and taxes; that all these places will be restored to the College of Cardinals immediately on the Pope's death, without awaiting a fresh creation or any other order from his Majesty.

He told me, besides, how the Papal Government purposed giving the French admission into these parts by fortifying Civit  Vecchia, and placing in the castle 30 (*sic*) soldiers of the most Christian King; and fortifying another small place (*loghetto*) near at hand of which I forget the name, so as to connect it with Pitigliano, and Pitigliano with Mont' Alcin . In conclusion, he told me he was expecting hourly, with the galleys, 500 infantry, and that 300 horse would also be sent, and that two days hence he thought of moving in advance from Tivoli.

This conversation lasted for a good hour, and after repeating some words in praise of his wish for peace, and exhorting him to persevere in it, I took leave and rode hither, being accompanied a good way, amongst other persons by Ascanio della Cornia, who never spoke to me about anything but his own justification with regard to having been compelled to desert to the Imperialists.

Your Serenity's most humble servant, Febo Capella, secretary.

Rome, 12th October 1556.†

[*Italian, partly in cipher, with contemporary decipher.*]

* The missions of this Friar are also alluded to in Foreign Calendar, "Mary," pp. 253, 270.

† In the Foreign Calendar, "Mary," there is but one letter from the English ambassador at Rome, Sir Edward Carne, to the Queen, in the month of October 1556. It is dated the 10th of the month, and contains the following paragraph:—

"Yesterday a messenger went from the Senate of Venice to the Duke of Alva to protest that they will defend the lands of the Church."

1556.

Oct. 12.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

660. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, and FEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary accredited to the Duke of Alva and to the Pope, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at 1 p.m., the hour appointed us by the Pope, we had audience, and I, ambassador, told his Holiness that according to the commission given by your Serenity to this Magnifico, your secretary, he was come to give him account of what he had negotiated with the Duke of Alva, adding that he was the son of a great servant of his Holiness.

He replied that he would hear him willingly, and showed that he remembered his father, who had often visited him in company with the most noble Messer Agustin da Mula, and concerning his grandfather he said he knew that he had been Grand Chancellor,* and that as the secretary was of such good and honourable ancestry nothing but good could be expected from him. I, Secretary, kissed his foot and then in the identical most prudent words of my commission set forth your Serenity's wish for peace, the offices performed by you on every occasion with their most serene Majesties the Emperor and the King of Spain and with the Duke of Alva for the quiet of Christendom, and what your Serenity had done through my medium with the said Duke, together with his reply, which was in substance a justification of the rupture (*la rottura*) made by him and a demonstration of goodwill towards the peace, on such terms as to make sure of its stability, adding a few words of most earnest exhortation, praying his Holiness to accept the agreement on fair terms and confer on Christendom so precious a gift as a good peace.

I did not tell the Pope what the Duke said to me, "that having to treat peace he did not see how it could be made through a better mediator than your Serenity, as he should not trust others," we before going to audience having determined not to mention it, thinking that the Pope also might assent to this mediation, it not seeming fit to us to utter a word which might bind your Serenity to what you would perhaps not approve, but rather secure ourselves by writing it to your Serenity, from whose will we shall not depart. But this our scruple about the Pope's assent was vain, as you will perceive by his Holiness' reply and that of Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano.

The Pope answered, "Lord Secretary, the office performed by you in his Sublimity's name with the Duke of Alva pleases me, and we thank you for it, nor do we listen to any Prince more willingly than to him; nor to any one will we give fuller account of our actions than to him, both by reason of the singular love we bear him, as also on account of the great interest he has in Italy, and because on every occasion the Signory has evinced readiness to assist this See, for which they have often suffered because their allies failed them in many matters, for they were once masters of the coasts as far as Constantinople; and lost much in order to adjust

* Febo Capella was Grand Chancellor of Venice from 1480 to 1482, and it was probably in 1527, when Gio. Pietro Caraffa was at Venice, that he knew his son. The title of "Magnifico" was given to the secretary in right of his grandfather.

1556.

their affairs as they best might. You know about the affairs of Prevesa and Castelnuovo [in 1538], the victuals (*vittuarie*) from Sicily, and other matters; and to give you, Secretary, the means for making a profitable statement to those lords of mine we must commence by narrating to you the Emperor's qualities, as by knowing his nature a better estimate may be formed of his mind."

The Pope then commenced repeating what he had so often said to me, Ambassador, and as I wrote at the time, how he had been in Spain by commission from Leo X., how he departed* (together with M. Marcello, who had been in the service of Ferdinando the Catholic) because he could not bear the tyranny of Charles of Spain, although the future Emperor was then young, and to see that all his proceedings and those of his councillors tended towards the ruin of the world and of the faith of Christ; how he fomented the heresies of Luther because they made him master of Rome; alluding to the sack of this city and to his expedition against Tunis, and the miraculous victory obtained by him there, for which instead of returning thanks to God and dedicating it to Christ, the King appointed by him was a Moor who put out his father's eyes; how he returned in triumph by way of Sicily and Naples and came to Rome to remain there, "and already had his attendants provided victuals for a long stay, but the prudence of Paul III. prevented this by arming secretly and making the King of France descend into Piedmont, whereupon the tyrant challenged the most Christian King.

"The barons in the neighbourhood of this city have always been favoured by him that he may have them ready to favour his designs for occupying the Papal States, and thus give him opportunity to keep the Pope always under his feet, of which the instances are recent, for being unable to speak of Marcello, who only reigned for a few days, let us take Julius III., whom the Emperor's ambassador did not deign to command in person, but sent him an under-secretary (*un secretarietto*) to say, do so and so (*fà così et così*). If their satellites by night under pretence of going on pleasure excursions with their harlots (*mostrando di andar a spasso con le loro puttane*) committed murders and plundered from 7,000 to 8,000 crowns at a time, under the Pope's eyes, it was tolerated; and if another individual compelled a great lady to marry her daughter to his son, although they were kinsfolk, then her son-in-law murdered her, with so many dagger-thrusts,† If any one, on being summoned to Rome, plundered or burned the houses of those who had cited him, nothing was said about it,‡ and if a complaint was made to the Pope, he replied, *What would you have me do? What are you to do, poor miserable creature?* (*che far poveraccio?*) Was it for this you were made Pope? (*è questo l'esser Papa?*) Is this the care you ought to have of the flock committed to you? We, then,

* In the years 1518, 1519. (See Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 164-165.)

† Camillo Colonna was accused of being implicated in the murder of a lady called Signora Livia, slain in her bed on Shrove Tuesday, 1555, by the son of Colonna, who had married her daughter and heir. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 184.)

‡ See before, account of Ascanio Colonna's treatment of his creditors, date 7th October 1556.

1556.

on being raised to this charge by the will of God,—although we did everything to avoid it, and of this testimony can be given by all the Cardinals, towards whom at all the consistories and congregations we never showed any respect (*mai fuessimo alcun rispetto*), in order to make them lose the wish to elect us,—we did not think fit to put up with these indignities, but to repress them, using however great mercy. When the Imperialists (*costoro*) saw they could not be our masters, they, from the very first day of our Pontificate, commenced plotting against us, and hence the poisonings, hence the murders, hence all the acts of assassination against us and our kinsfolk which can possibly be imagined. (*Et qui li veneni, qui li sicarij, qui tutti li assassinamenti che si possono imaginar contra di noi, et contra li nostri.*)

“These outrages were always dissembled by us for the respect which we so often mentioned to you, Ambassador, nor can any person, however malignant, say that we commenced the war. Had this not been the case we should perhaps not be in the state in which we are at present, and the war would be in their territory (*in casa loro*). We even put up with the synagogue (*sinagoga*) held by them in the house of that Cardinal, which was an act of high treason;* and although the qualities of the Colonna family were known to us by many proofs, and by what is written in the sixth book of Decretals, chap. “*De scismaticis*,” (as shown by us heretofore to you, Magnifico Ambassador,) we tolerated Marc’ Antonio Colonna, and honoured him even to the extent of making him worthy to sit at our dinner table with Cardinals. He asked leave of us to quit Rome; we conceded it to him, and he went to stir-up the people against us and to urge the Emperor’s ministers in the kingdom at Naples and at Milan to wage war on us, which was the cause of his privation. The Imperialists, unable to tolerate our being masters of our own territory and maintaining that dignity which Christ has conferred on us, and it seeming to them the fitting moment to do what they had purposed since so many years, namely, to occupy this State in order subsequently to deal with the rest of Italy, moved and advanced so far as is known to you, without any cause, for we at the beginning of our pontificate commenced preparing the reform and wished to assemble councils (*convocar consilij*) to do something worthy of the grade held by us, which is quite contrary to war, and the first troops raised by us were for the service of the Imperialists (*a servizio loro*), to the discontent of the French, because the levy was made on account of the passage of the Turkish fleet; and the Marquis de Sarria, the Emperor’s ambassador here, thanked us for it several times; the French, on the other hand, complaining of it, as they wished us to trust to them who had been the cause of the coming of the said fleet; but we, regardless of this, chose to arm (though on a small scale) (*mediocrementè però*) but sufficiently to guard these coasts, in order that the populace of Rome might not take flight as it did under Paul III. when Barbarossa passed.

* The meeting of the Emperor’s adherents at Rome in the residence of Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza, in August 1555, and his imprisonment, have been alluded to at p. 195 in vol. 6, Venetian Calendar, and in Foreign Calendar, “Mary,” pp. 183-184.

1556.

"These accursed of God (*questi maledetti da Dio*) [the Imperialists] who were seeking an opportunity, armed at the confines, and increased their forces constantly, with the intention of doing what they have done, which is but too much, and to your detriment. It is manifest to everybody, who willed the war and who commenced it. They now talk of peace, to put to sleep those who are interested in the matter, and in the meanwhile to play their own game (*far il fatto loro*), as they also did when this renegade Morisco (*Marano*) [the Duke of Alva] moved war, whilst Pirro dell' Offredo was negotiating the agreement. We have made this discourse to you, in order that knowing their tyranny, and the constant wish they have to make themselves masters of Italy, you may be able to tell those lords to open their eyes to their own welfare, and to rest assured that after us the ruin of their State will follow, and they will be compelled to do in self defence what might be done by them now to *their very great honour and profit, as if they understood the matter as they ought, they and we should be capable of ridding ourselves of this plague; and the Signory would have the glory of having made a King of Naples and a Duke of Milan, and of bringing back Italy to her former harmony; whereas should she wait to see, she will let us be ruined and ruin herself likewise, to her eternal infamy.*"

I the Ambassador then said, "Holy Father, the ruin of these two States will not ensue, because your Holiness on fair terms will concede to the world and especially to Italy this precious boon of peace; an operation truly worthy of a vicar of Christ, and bequeathed as an heirloom to all those who had to succeed Him."

The Pope said, "Although we are so ready to make peace that we might consider it an affront for any one to exhort us thus to do, yet will we always listen patiently to everybody, and above all to you, and if you have any condition to offer us, tell it, as there is no more fitting medium for this than the most illustrious Signory; but you must know that those Imperialists (*costoro*) are astute, and perceive that you and the King of France and the others will be compelled to rouse themselves for their own good (we now omit the point of religion, which ought, however, to be held in great account by Christian Princes), and therefore the Imperialists by talking of peace are cajoling you that they may do as much mischief as they can, so long as you permit them. We have but little strength remaining; we will not do anything unbecoming our dignity; if able to escape alive out of their hands, we will embark on board ship, and go and exercise our office where we can, because we are the same in every place; and you, when the flood (*la piena*) pours in upon you will remember this poor old man (*questo povero vecchio*), and regret not having made provision in time, when you had a Pope from whom you might have hoped for more than from any former one."

I the Ambassador replied that I would not anticipate so much evil, and hoped that God would effect the peace without detriment to his Holiness' dignity. He replied, "Our dignity would have required us to declare them accursed, excommunicated, deprived of fiefs, kingdoms, and empires, as we are bound to do, and as we

1556.

shall do, (for we have already appointed Cardinals to examine this sentence,) and release their subjects from their oath of homage, conceding also their states and kingdoms to whomsoever shall gain them; and should they then come as suppliants to ask mercy of us, and we were to ponder whether we should concede it them after receiving compensation for all damages and losses, this would be for our dignity. Imagine whether they will do it. At least, as for the reason assigned by us heretofore to you, Magnifico Ambassador, we delayed effecting this privation, let them cease hostilities and leave us alone; but to choose to give law to us, and to prevent us from chastising our own vassals, will never be considered fair by any one, be he who he may. They wish to make us by force reinstate our rebels, those very ones whose reception by them has subjected them to the 'censures,' and they deserve the '*privation*,' as also on account of their heresy, which is sufficient to '*deprive*' a Pope, not merely Kings and Emperors. A fine enterprise to be the first one undertaken by the King of Spain, *qui nondum attigit limen regnorum suorum*, and goes to war with a poor Pope. We lament our own misfortune, and see that of others, and are not credited; but, by God! they will believe us when they find themselves in the midst of it. Secretary! tell those Lords to remember when the Imperialists [in 1509] deprived them of their territory on the main-land, and the sieges of Padua, Treviso, and Brescia, and to prepare to do what is for their advantage, without having so many respects, suspicions, spites, and delays (*tanti rispetti, sospetti, dispetti, et aspetti*), as these are what ruin the world. Let them do at once, what they will be compelled to do very shortly, at their very great cost and peril, for if they permit the Imperialists to occupy this state, by God! they will be unable to defend their own. We choose to have told and protested this to you. God knows that what I let them know is what they ought to do for their benefit and honour." I the Ambassador told him that the Secretary before his departure would return to kiss his Holiness' foot, and that we would now go to his most illustrious nephews; and he having said that he was glad of it, although the Cardinal had been ill, we took leave.

Rome, 12th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, with contemporary decipher.*]

Oct. 12.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.
2nd Letter.

661. The SAME to the SAME.

On entering Cardinal Caraffa's chamber we found him risen from his bed, and I, Ambassador, after congratulations on his recovery said that this Magnifico Secretary, who by your Serenity's order had been to the Duke of Alva, would tell him what he negotiated, and I, Secretary, stated my proposal and the Duke's reply, as already done by me to the Pope, requesting his most illustrious lordship to aid the agreement with his Holiness. The Cardinal replied, that in like manner as he had done hitherto, he would not fail to urge the peace, provided it could be made with dignity to the Pope, saying, "You, Lord Secretary, if they told you the terms, may judge whether they are fair;" and he then commented on the articles proposed, as he did

1556.

to me, Ambassador, last week. He said much in justification of his Holiness' cause, and especially that he went to the most Christian King solely for the universal peace, being content to stipulate it and die the next day, and not for any other purpose or other understanding, although at the Emperor's Court much had been said on that subject.

He apologised for not having gone to the Conference for the reasons in like manner assigned to me, Ambassador, and which I wrote to your Serenity, adding that he was known to be a gentleman, and had served the Emperor for 17 years, receiving from him such remuneration that to save his life he was compelled to enter the service of the King of France, having often told both of them that he would never cease serving them, save in case the Signory of Venice were in need, when he would leave anyone, to serve your Serenity, and that now in his present grade he is ready to serve you, by so much the more as owing to the demonstration made by you towards him and his whole family, accepting them as sons and servants,* he was bound to do so. In the next place, concerning the agreement, he said that should the Imperialists propose suitable terms, neither the Pope nor his dependents would fail to accept them, and that there was no better net, nor one more suited to land this fish (*et che nessuna rete era miglior nè più a proposito per tirar questo pesce a riva*), that it may be enjoyed (*accid si possi galder*), than your Serenity, who, by mediating and following up the conclusion, might warrant hopes of its durability, because respect for your Serenity would cause the Imperialists to attend to what they promised, but that the Duke of Alva, under semblance of demanding peace, was now doing what he did at the beginning, when he sent that agent of his (*quel suo homo*) to the Princes, to pray them to mediate for the agreement with his Holiness, and simultaneously commenced war. He complained of the irregularities (*disordini*) which had occurred hitherto, and said that he was making such provision that the Imperialists would perhaps not make the progress they had imagined, and might become more accommodating (*più piacevoli*); saying in conclusion, that although the Pope's forces might go to Naples, and hope to take it, he would not fail to recommend peace, provided it was to the dignity of the Pope and of this Holy See, for which he would risk his life, as he held the grade of Cardinal.

He then said, "I will not omit to tell you one of the fine proceedings of those Imperialists (*una delle belle operation di costoro*), besides the oath of allegiance to the College and the future Pope imposed by them on the inhabitants of the captured towns. Ferrante dell' Offredo, who is in the Abruzzi preparing to invade the March of Ancona, wrote a letter to Ascoli summoning it to surrender, because King Philip would treat it well, take off the taxes, and then restore it to the future Pope, because the present one was not elected canonically; so they are not making war on the Pope, but on the Cardinal of Chieti; and this letter I will show

* Allusion to the Caraffas having been inscribed on the Golden Book. (See before, Navagero despatch, 8th February 1556.)

1556.

you when I get the original, for which I have sent. Think of what quality they are, and what wish they have for peace."

To this I, the Ambassador, replied that as the peace was evidently advantageous for both sides, and desired by all Italy, I hoped that through his mediation and authority it would be effected, to the glory of God and to the satisfaction of the whole world.

I, the Secretary, performed the same office with his Excellency as with the Pope, and Cardinal Caraffa replied in the words so often uttered by him to me, Ambassador, justifying the Pope's cause and demonstrating his wish for peace; because he knew very well that it suited his Holiness, was advantageous for the world and for Italy, and most advantageous for his own family, adding, "What need is there for words? Do thus; let the Duke of Alva refer this cause to the most serene Signory of Venice, for I am certain that the Pope would consent to it and abide by the Signory's decree. You will see that they will reject it, because in words they wish for peace and by their deeds for war, but it is possible that God may assist us, although hitherto, on account of some of our sins, He has chosen to punish us. They will not get all the share they expect; but at any rate I shall never perform any other office than that of counselling the agreement." We commended this so pious a determination, and then took leave.

Rome, 12th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

662. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Went to the court to-day. The Constable asked me whether your Serenity was making any preparation in aid of the Pope, and when I said that I had no advice of any, he replied, "When one's neighbour's house is on fire, it is necessary to assist it, as otherwise one's own likewise is endangered." As I made no rejoinder to this, he then took me to the King, who, in answer to my inquiry whether he had any news, replied, with his usual graciousness, that he would say nothing to me about the state of the Pope's affairs, as he believed I was aware of the capture by the forces of the King of Spain of certain places, but that they were merely open places, and that they had abstained (*astenuti*) from such as were fortified, although had Anagni been provided with ammunition it might have held out, but that the Pope's affairs had been mismanaged, as the Duke of Paliano was a good gentleman, but had not much experience in military matters; nor did the Romans much commend Camillo Orsini; and this maladministration encouraged the Duke of Alva to advance with upwards of 10,000 infantry, with a certain amount of cavalry, and eight pieces of artillery; which troops the Pope would have no cause to fear were his affairs well managed, as the King hoped would now be the case, his Holiness having 28,000 paid troops (28 *mille paghe*), including 4,000 Gascon and German infantry sent from Montalcino, and 1,200 cavalry: but that he was in hourly expectation of fresh advices, to hear the result of the conference that was to be held.

I also asked his Majesty what hope he had of an agreement, to

1556.

which he replied, "Assuredly I know not; the words of the King of Spain sound well, but they are contradicted by his deeds; we shall see what will take place. They had also said that Don Ruy Gomez would come hither. I very well know that I never believed it, and now the discourse has cooled; though at all times, whether he or others come, I shall see them willingly; but, in the meanwhile, I will not abandon the Pope, both as my friend, and as universal Father; and I believe all Italy will do the like, including also the Signory." I replied that it was understood his Majesty had sent to raise Switzers and other troops, to give assistance to his Holiness. "Yes," said the King, "it is true the Switzers will pass into Piedmont, and if necessary, fresh troops from Germany; I have them so near at hand that I can soon get them; nor in like manner shall we fail to make such other provision as necessary." I asked his Majesty, if the King of Spain also was arming. He said, "I do not hear for certain that he is raising other troops than those with the Duke of Alva, and those Germans for whom he demanded passage of the Signory, but as yet I have no advice of their having crossed;" and he asked me whether I had any news of them. When I told him I had not, he added that the Emperor had arrived in Spain with 22 ships, and that for many days he had no advices about England, nor yet of the King of Bohemia, who was gone to the King his father, as dissatisfied as possible with the King of Spain.

The provision for the war continues, and of late (*questi giorni*) his Majesty in person has chosen to remain always in the Council Chamber, consulting about the affairs of Piedmont, and from a certain good quarter I hear that these troops will cross the Alps, not only to divert the forces which are acting against the Pope, but also to give support to some important understanding which his most Christian Majesty has in a certain fortress (*piazza*) belonging to the King of England; and besides the captains mentioned in my letters of the 8th and 9th, M. d'Andelot, General of the French infantry, has also been despatched to inspect the frontiers of Champagne and Picardy, for which parts, in like manner, 30 captains have been appointed, and it is said they will soon depart. The King will wage the war briskly, rather than allow the Pope to make an agreement alienating him from the good understanding which he has with his Majesty. With regard to the affairs of Ferrara, I have had confirmation of what I wrote to your Serenity about the King's determination to comply with all the Duke's wishes, so that he may declare himself his Majesty's lieutenant, and march to succour the Pope, as it is evident that from no other quarter could the King give his Holiness more sure nor more speedy assistance.

I hear that both his Majesty and all these other personages are anxiously expecting the decision from Flanders about this negotiation for peace. Since my last, no advice whatever has arrived, but the Abbot of San Saluto, who keeps this business alive, is expecting news of it from day to day.

The Constable, seeing that his son the Duke of Montmorency, besides the first error committed by him, adds also a second by

1556.

remaining constant, and choosing to have for wife that "Demoiselle," with whom not having consummated the marriage, it might have been dissolved, she referring herself to his will, had him lately kept under custody, and subsequently caused the King to order him to go to Rome and obey his Majesty's ministers there, from which place he is not to depart without the King's express order, and he has already set out, more firm than ever in his opinion; and the intense sorrow caused the Constable by this trouble is very clearly depicted on his countenance.

Paris, 12th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

663. The SAME to the SAME.

The most Christian King remains the whole day with his "Council of Affairs," forming resolves about the war, as written in my last of the 12th, and he has now determined to send the Duke de Guise into Piedmont as his General. The great importance of this measure, by reason of the personal valour of the individual, as also on account of his noble descent, and of the great love borne him by the King, in addition to his being the son-in-law of the Duke of Ferrara, will, I am certain, have been pondered by your Serenity, so that it is unnecessary for me to allude farther to it. The cause of his going is the determination of his most Christian Majesty to send an army into Italy to succour the Pope, the forces hitherto destined for the purpose being the 6,000 Switzers, who by this time must be already on the march; and the captains who have been sent to raise Frenchmen at the rate of 300 for each company, forming another 6,000; and the order has been given that after the muster of the men-at-arms, which will be made on the 20th instant, 500 spears are to march towards Piedmont; besides which, 600 light horse will be sent from this kingdom; so that the army will consist of 12,000 infantry, 500 spears, and 600 light horse, and 25 pieces of artillery, which they will remove from Piedmont.

On the other hand, through the Ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara, who went to his Excellency, his most Christian Majesty has requested him to raise 6,000 infantry and 400 light horse, instructing him to take the Venetian money (il denaro di Venetia) [the deposit?]; and they will all unite. After the junction, the Duke of Ferrara may possibly be the General, but it is believed he will leave the charge to the Duke de Guise, and retire into his own territory. Moreover, the Marshal de Brissac will go with his Excellency to support his passage, and he will have with him 4,000 infantry, which it was lately determined to raise, one half Frenchmen and the other half Italians, and 250 spears, together with some 600 light horse, which are in Piedmont; and when the Duke is in safer quarters (in loco più sicuro) the Marshal will return with his forces to Piedmont (la ne (sic) ritornerà in Piamonte), where he will not fail to display his usual activity.

I am assured that they have not settled the route to be taken

1556.

by this army, nor will it be decided here; but they will give the General liberty to march in whatever direction he may deem most to the purpose, because by its remaining thus undecided until the moment of the passage, the King of England will have cause for apprehension in several quarters, and to garrison many places, by which means, by dividing his forces, the main body of his army is more weakened, and the French will have additional advantage.

I hear in like manner that after the passage, the point of attack remains undecided, because although they consider it certain that the Duke of Alva will be immediately drawn off from Rome, and that they may march towards the kingdom of Naples, I nevertheless hear that the Pope exhorts his most Christian Majesty to make the expedition to Florence, to which the Duke of Ferrara will consent (*condescenderà*) more willingly than to any other, by reason of the enmity he bears that Duke. Some persons, on surer grounds, say that the expedition will be against the Milanese itself, without advancing further, as the army would thus be less inconvenienced, and the King be more benefited; their argument being, that should the Spanish forces take the field, and determine to fight a pitched battle, and the French gain the day, they will be masters of that State, and not finding an army to oppose them, may do whatever else they please; but nothing is known hitherto on this subject except from discourse, save that the Queen [Catherine de' Medici] has spoken to the Florentine merchants here, and has despatched Captain Nicolò Alemanni to the outlaws (*forusciti*) at Lyons to urge them to offer pecuniary subsidy to his Majesty for that expedition, as they did before the truce.

The chief officials of these forces have been already appointed, thus: the Duke de Guise will be commander-in-chief of his own army, and lead the main body; his brother, the Duke d'Aumale, will command the vanguard; M. de Sipierre, as he is general of the light cavalry, will be lieutenant of that corps; and the rear-guard will be led by M. de Termes, to whom it is believed that they will also give the charge of the men-at-arms. The Duke de Nemours will be general of the French company; and the Marquis d'Elbeuf of the company of Switzers; whilst of the Marshal's troops his Excellency himself will be general. So long as these forces remain together the Duke de Guise will have the command; and during the absence of the Duke d'Aumale, the Constable's son, M. de Damville, will be general of the cavalry, and M. de Bonniwet general of the infantry.

All these arrangements have been determined on, but are not yet carried into effect, with the exception of despatching the Switzers, and the order for the men-at-arms to march; the rest being deferred until the arrival of a fresh courier from Rome with news of the conference which was to be held, no advices having been received since the letters of the 24th ulto.; and they remain in suspense owing to the resolve formed by the Pope, although in the said letters he assured the King that he would not make any agreement, writing the following precise words, that "he remained with the firm hope that his most Christian Majesty would not fail to perform the promises he had given him; and that should their execution

1556.

be tardy, he (the Pope), would determine on selling Ravenna and Cervia to your Serenity, and then Bologna to the Duke of Ferrara, to enable him for a long while to continue the war; and when he can do no more, that rather than make an agreement, he will abandon Rome and come to Avignon."

I hear for certain that should the Pope not have made an agreement down to yesterday, his most Christian Majesty is well nigh sure that he will not make one at all; because the moment he received the aforesaid letters of the 24th, the King despatched a courier in great haste to his Holiness, (and who ought to have arrived in Rome yesterday,) exhorting him to reject any agreement (ad escludere ogni accordo), acquainting him with the provision which is still being made. They are also expecting with great anxiety the definitive reply of the Duke of Ferrara, and although the Prince his son [Alfonso of Este, Prince of Ferrara] performed every office to convince the King that it will be such as he wishes, yet before being convinced of this, his Majesty chooses to witness the ratification by the Duke; and the aforesaid Prince will accompany the Duke de Guise his brother-in-law.* It is also borne in mind, that the season is far advanced towards winter, though it does not seem that on this account his most Christian Majesty will delay executing his resolve, hoping that the valour of the commanders and the vigour (virtù) of the soldiers, and most especially of the veterans in Piedmont, will overcome every difficulty; the which veterans will be removed from the garrisons where they now are, to serve in the army, the recruits now being raised replacing them.

M. d'Andelot departed, as written by me, to inspect the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne; 12 of the 13 captains destined for those parts have been despatched thither, and the others will be sent in like manner as soon as these resolves from Rome and Ferrara arrive.

Pecuniary supply is being prepared by all means, and the King himself chose personally to inspect the account of the obligations imposed by him on the revenues (il conto delle obbligazioni che ha fatto sopra le intrade), and from what I hear they are in a better state than was anticipated by him; and there are several merchants who make him large offers of money at the time of the Lyons fairs, at the rate of 16 per cent., but although some bargains have been stipulated, the most important ones are delayed until the arrival of the aforesaid advices.

Paris, 14th October 1556.

[Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Oct. 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

664. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

One Captain Julian, a Spaniard, who was prisoner in France, arrived here postwise last evening, announcing that he was come to provide for the payment of his ransom, but from what I hear he

* The consort of the Duke de Guise was Anne of Este. (See Foreign Calendar, May, Index.)

1556.

went immediately to the King, and in the name of his ambassador resident at the French Court told him that what he was unable or knew not how to explain by letter he now imparts to his Majesty orally, namely, that he must consider it certain that the most Christian King is determined to break the truce, not only from the words uttered by him to the ambassador, and confirmed by the Constable, but also from the orders already sent to the captains of several frontier towns; and that the ambassador told him he thought he should only have a few sets of letters (*se non poche mani di lettere*) to write for the future, as he expected shortly to be either dismissed or arrested.

Then, this morning, the French ambassador went to his Majesty to let him know, in the name of the most Christian King, that it seeming to him at present that the proceedings of the Duke of Alva tended towards another end than that of the defence of the kingdom of Naples, he had determined, should the Pope wish, by means of his confederates, to make war on his Majesty, in order to draw off the said Duke's army to other parts of Italy, or beyond it, and to give him all possible assistance in every way, without intending that the truce be broken on this account. King Philip replied that in this war with the Pope he had only two objects in view; the one, to secure the kingdom of Naples, the other, to be considered by his Holiness as the most obedient son of the See Apostolic, and to be treated by him as such. His Majesty then said that the most Christian King was at liberty to give assistance to the Pope, but that in doing so he must also bear in mind that it be done in a way to preserve the truce, which on his part would always be maintained, provided he had not necessary cause to act contrariwise. The ambassador rejoined that he was also commissioned to tell his Majesty that should he intend to come to fair terms of agreement the King would give especial charge to Lansac and Montluc to assist at the conferences with the cardinals who have been appointed to negotiate the peace, that they may perform every possible office with his Holiness to cause it to take place; the said ambassador remarking to his Majesty, as of himself, that it would be well to give an express order to the Duke to make some agreement, as little or no profit could result from this war. The reply purported that his Majesty would speak about this with his counsellors, and send for him in the afternoon, as he did, but it is not yet known what his Majesty's resolve was.

The Spaniards go saying (*vanno dicendo*) that this French ambassador thus made a formal declaration of war, speaking simultaneously of peace, in such language that, let happen what may, he will have given satisfaction both to the Pope and to King Philip, to the one by demonstrating to him and to the world that he has not failed him in his extreme need, and to the other that he has not only not broken the truce, but performed an office in favour of the peace.

The ambassador from Florence has been to see me, and somewhat anxiously asked me to tell him what commission I had received from your Serenity and announced to King Philip about past and future affairs in Italy between him and the Pope, as he had heard

The first of these is the fact that the population of the United States has increased from 3,929,214 in 1790 to 39,312,166 in 1880. This increase has been the result of a number of causes, the most important of which are the immigration of foreign-born persons and the natural increase of the native-born population. The immigration of foreign-born persons has been the result of a number of causes, the most important of which are the desire for better living conditions, the desire for better educational opportunities, and the desire for better economic opportunities. The natural increase of the native-born population has been the result of a number of causes, the most important of which are the high birth rate and the low death rate. The high birth rate has been the result of a number of causes, the most important of which are the desire for a large family, the desire for a large family, and the desire for a large family. The low death rate has been the result of a number of causes, the most important of which are the improvement in medical science, the improvement in medical science, and the improvement in medical science.

1556.

conflicting accounts from the chief ministers here, one telling him that he understood your Serenity was beyond measure irritated (*oltramodo alterato*), and the other that in my discourse I had so blended the things uttered in your Serenity's name with what I said in my own that he did not well know what your Serenity intended to do, and that in a matter of such importance he was compelled to write to the Duke his master, he being but too greatly concerned in it should the war in Italy continue, and your Serenity being the chief power there, both for might and wisdom. Without entering into any details, I told him lovingly that your Serenity was most anxious for peace; and, from what he told my secretary, he went to the King to hear the particulars, that he might write them all to his lord, and he said he had heard the whole from his Majesty, who, however, told him not to mention a word about it to any one.

A person of quality tells me that a brother of Count Mansfeldt* departed hence privily, and in anger, from inability to obtain what his brother asked about his ransom, saying in abusive language that he and his whole family would soon show what they were capable of doing; and as he has gone to France, these words of his cause some anxiety to the chief ministers here.

The Duke of Savoy writes to the King from Brussels that he has imprisoned three of the individuals who opposed the money grant, and that some of the chief deputies had taken time to go back to their towns in Brabant, and to think about finding means to satisfy his Majesty in some part; it being also said that on their becoming less obstinate he will consent to the demands being diminished or changed.

Ghent, 14th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pusini.*]

Oct. 17.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

665. The SAME to the SAME.

On receipt this morning of the Signory's letters of the 3rd I went immediately to the King, and informed him as ordered that your Serenity, having greatly at heart the suppression of the present stir in Italy, by means of some fair agreement, charged me to repeat the office performed by me some days ago, because by the Pope's mission to you of the Bishop Commendone you understood that his Holiness was much inclined towards peace; wherefore your Serenity, from your extreme wish for it really to take place, had despatched one of your secretaries express to the Duke of Alva in order better and more promptly to dispose him to a fair agreement, and that you prayed his Majesty, although he had previously written strongly to his Excellency as he told me, to be pleased again to charge him to make such proposals as might produce so very desirable a result as peace, and so necessary, not merely for Italy, but for the whole of Christendom, and which if effected would obtain for his Majesty, together with much glory, many of those advantages and benefits which he of his great prudence might easily comprehend.

The King, after telling me how much pleased he was that your

* Albert, Count of Mansfeldt. (See the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Index.)

1556.

Serenity had been gratified by those marks of goodwill towards you evinced by him to me, added that he was very glad to hear that your Serenity had sent one of your secretaries to the Duke of Alva for the purpose narrated by me, and that having already sent him such orders for the conclusion of the agreement that he knew not what to say, he was of opinion that to attain this good result there was greater need to incline the heart of his Holiness rather than that of his Majesty, and that your Serenity will hereafter know by facts that he will never fail, as his Majesty wishes you to be convinced of his desire for the peace, and to be always your good friend. Being aware, as told me first of all by Don Ruy Gomez, that the positive intention (*la fermissima intentione*) of King Philip was that your Serenity should be judge-arbiter, or one of your ministers a witness, I merely repeated in conclusion that I considered it certain that his Majesty would prove to the world by facts the goodwill demonstrated by him towards peace, assuring him also that by reason of this Christian purpose, and his other truly regal qualities, you would never swerve from that love and reverence which you have always borne him.

According to your Serenity's orders, I addressed Don Ruy Gomez in the same tone, and he evinced great satisfaction at being exhorted by you to be an instrument with his Majesty for effecting so holy and glorious a work, telling me in short that his wish in this matter could not be greater than it is, and that so many and such various things had been imagined about it that it was impossible to do more, and that they had written to the Duke of Alva to devise something of his own, and amongst other projects, one of the chief, which he thought the Pope might approve of, would be for the Count of Montorio to be satisfied with receiving the Principality of Salerno with 12,000 crowns revenue, his son marrying one of the daughters of Mare' Antonio Colonna, by which arrangement he might hope for greater quiet and profit than by remaining Duke of Paliano; adding that his King, in short, merely wished to be assured that his kingdom of Naples should no longer continue disturbed.

His lordship and Don Bernardino de Mendoza, who came in unexpectedly, both evinced great satisfaction at your Serenity's having sent the secretary to the Duke of Alva, saying that now more than ever they hoped the agreement would take place owing to this mediation on the part of your Serenity, who is sincere and of such great prudence and authority as you really are, both one and the other of them coming to the conclusion that they could think of nothing more serviceable for their King than this, and to keep him as closely knit in friendship with your Serenity as they can.

I reciprocated in such loving terms as seemed to me adapted to the nature (*qualità*) of the present times, preserving your Serenity's dignity, and giving them indication of your constant goodwill towards his Majesty.

Ghent, 17th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.
Oct. 17.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B.

666. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

The troops which went out of Rome with the Duke of Somma* to go with the French galleys to Nettuno to burn the ammunition, provisions, and bridge of boats of the Imperialists (as told me by Cardinal Caraffa), have returned without being able to do anything at all. They lay the blame of this failure to a storm which arose after they had presented themselves under the castle of that place, and as there was shoal water (*e per esser spiaggia*) they had to sheer off. It is said that the galleys bore the Pope's flag, lest the French be accused of having been the first to break the truce with the Imperialists.

Part of the Imperial army has approached yet nearer this city, some companies (*bandere*) of foot and a good number of horse being in Frascati, Marino, and the neighbouring places, not more than 10 or 12 miles hence, but so far as can be known the Duke of Alva, with the main body, has not left Tivoli.

M. de Montluc, who went out with some cavalry to reconnoitre near Marino, was charged so furiously by an ambuscade that with difficulty could he make his escape into this city, with the loss of four horses. The enemy treat the places occupied by them well, but from persons conveying victuals into Rome they take both cattle and provisions. It is not known what expedition this Imperial army purposes undertaking, and so ill-informed is the Roman government that they are scarcely aware how it is distributed, and this, in addition to so many other disorders, causes apprehension of some great disturbance, because the Imperialists, on the contrary, are acquainted with all that is done and said here, and verily on true and assiduous advices (principally in military matters) great part of felicitous events depend. The reason why during so many days the enemy's army has delayed doing so many things it might have done is said by some to be because it is expecting fresh German forces and other troops; others say that the Duke of Alva has not chosen to proceed farther without a fresh order from the King of Spain, from whom he is expecting advice from day to day. Some horsemen have arrived with 14,000 crowns raised in Venice, and 6,000 in Ferrara, for the French, as told me by the son of the host at Chioggia, who was one of those who brought it, and is an outlaw at Ravenna. Of this supply there was great need, as from want of it many orders for necessary provisions remained unexecuted, and the supply obtained lately is a compromise with the Jews, who are to pay 10,000 crowns for having transgressed some of their statutes (*capitoli*), one half of the sum being payable at the end of this month and the other at the end of November next; and the governor of Perugia has been written to detain the 3,000 crowns assigned for payment of the salaries of the doctors of that university. It is also said that a similar compromise is being treated with the Jews at Bologna, and which is expected to yield nearly 14,000 crowns, and that on

* The Duke of Somma, being a Papalist, had been outlawed from Naples by the Imperialists. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 262.)

1556.

account of the inheritance of the Lord Balduino [del Monte?] they have demanded 30,000 crowns, with a promise not to interfere with it, and 15,000 have already been offered them.

An express from France has arrived with letters dated the 8th instant, and when a person in the confidence of Marshal Strozzi asked him about their contents, he said, "They promise great things, referring themselves, however, to what will be brought by M. de St. Fermo, who is the secretary Bucchie; but the Duke of Paliano has given it to be understood that the King has ordered the levy of Switzers and the march of the men-at-arms, and every other necessary provision for the war, and that it will be waged sooner than is generally supposed, without awaiting the orders of the King of Spain to the Duke of Alva. I, most serene Prince, continue not choosing to ask about these advices from France either of the Pope's ministers or of those of the King, in order not to give them an opportunity for making fresh demands, but I nevertheless endeavour to hear what I can through various channels, being sure that my omissions will be supplied by your ambassador in France; but I will not fail telling what I have heard, although it did not reach me from an authentic quarter, namely, that the French ministers here have sounded (*tentato*) the Pope whether, his Holiness being old, and their King having to undertake so important and costly an expedition, and one so perilous, it would be well in some way to secure his Majesty, and that the way would be to place the four towns of Ancona, Civitavecchia, Spoleto, and Veletri in his hands.

With all this news Congregation assembled to-day in the house of Cardinal S. Giacomo, with the Cardinals appointed for the peace, with the exception of Cardinal Caraffa, and Friar Manrique was with them, the particulars of this congregation being as follows:—Two days ago Monsignor Fantuzzi, auditor di Rota, went to Cardinal Carpi, in the name of the Cardinal of Pisa [Scipione Rebiba], exhorting him, as a leading Cardinal, to find some means for this peace, by calling to his presence the Cardinals already appointed for it, and urging them to effect it. Cardinal Carpi replied that he no longer knew what to do, and that he would not assume this office, which appertained rather to Cardinal Caraffa, who had so much authority and represented the Pope in person. Then yesterday Fantuzzi returned to Cardinal Carpi, telling him that the Pope's nephews and the Pope himself would wish the peace to be again discussed, and thus was it settled to hold the Congregation in the house of Cardinal S. Giacomo, when, after saying that the peace was necessary, it was determined again to send Friar Manrique to renew the negotiation for peace; so as it has been said distinctly that the Pope will never do anything on condition of reinstating Marc' Antonio Colonna, it being affirmed, on the other hand, that without this condition the Duke of Alva knows that he can do nothing whatever, the Cardinal of Carpi awaits from the Pope's ministers the tenour of the letter with which to despatch the Friar Manrique. God knows what the result may be, and for what end perhaps these things are attempted, nor can any man vouch for it, it being seen at this Court that even its decrees are not executed.

1556.

The ambassador from Florence likewise does not cease taking part in this agreement, having received letters from his Duke telling him that his Excellency has heard of the Pope's conversation with him touching the goodwill of his Holiness about the peace, but that as no foundation can be formed on general expressions he charges his ambassador to endeavour to elicit something precise (*qualche particolare*), as his Excellency will be ready to mediate, assuring the Pope that no one could treat his cause more lovingly and faithfully than he would. With regard to the suspicion entertained here about the said Duke, the ambassador says that he has made no military movement, and that on the contrary he has disbanded two companies that were in Florence, so that in that city no soldier could be found at any price.

A few days ago Camillo Orsini was on the point of demanding his discharge, having heard that he bears the blame of all the disorders which have taken place hitherto, and also because one night he found himself by chance in a place where certain Gascons were stripping a poor man, whom he rescued at some personal risk indeed, for the whole company attacked him, but subsequently the Papal ministers here (*questi signori*) caressed him greatly, and he received many marks of respect from the Gascon commanders, so it is supposed that he will go on temporising (*che anderà scorrendo*) but not very well satisfied. As part of the Imperial army has approached so near Rome, the paid soldiery, besides mounting guard in the city, keep watch by night at the Campidoglio, the aldermen (*caporioni*) (a certain number each time) going thither with their battalions for this purpose. Marshal Strozzi departed this morning to go and see in what state Civitavecchia is, by reason of the importance of its harbour; and it is also said that M. de Montluc is gone to Montalcino accompanied by the son of the French ambassador, who chooses to be a soldier. Here they have taken off the insupportable mill-stone tax (*angaria della masena*) amounting to two crowns per "*rubbio*," seeing that it was tolerated painfully; and a proclamation has been made in the Pope's name allowing the people to go out of Rome to sow; which two proceedings have given great satisfaction to the city.

The Duke of Paliano's quartan ague has become a double one, and the physicians say that to free him from it it would be necessary to remove his mental troubles and suffering.

To-day the Signor Matheo Stendardo made a muster of his mounted harquebusiers, forming four ensigns (4 *stendardi*), part in armour (*armati*), having a spear besides the harquebuse, and part with only a harquebuse without armour (*disarmati*). They are in fact about 200, though it was always said that they would be many more, and for such they will perhaps be paid.

The Archbishop Sauli, late treasurer, was this evening imprisoned in the Castle, he having given bail not to quit Rome, as written by me.

Rome, 17th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.
Oct. 18.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

667. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By a second courier from Laredo it is heard that the Emperor had already set out for Valladolid with the Queens, with the intention of remaining there a few days to see his daughter [Doña Juana] and his grandson [Don Carlos], and then proceed to the monastery of Yuste, near Plasencia. Certain Spaniards, however, say that to benefit the affairs of his son his Imperial Majesty will be compelled to stay a longer while than he intended, on various accounts, and for this one in particular, that he may send for some of the grandees of Aragon (*alcuni principali di Arragon*), or despatch some one thither, to send them, together with delegates from Valentia and Catalonia, to take the oath to the King, they not having chosen to do so hitherto to avoid derogating from their privileges, which compel his Majesty to go to them in person. According to letters from M. de la Chaux, his Imperial Majesty is in better health than he has seen him for the last 10 years.

By several advices received from Brussels it is understood that to quiet the people of Brabant, the Duke of Savoy, with the chief members of the Council there, had determined to appoint two of each trade, they to be persons the best acquainted with his Majesty's demand, and to give them authority to decide about it. His Excellency also writes to the King that it has been suggested to him as a necessary measure on account of the religion, which is in a bad way (*che va a male*), to found three bishoprics, one for Brussels, another for Antwerp, and a third for this city, and that he has found an easy way for providing them with revenues.

A gentleman of these provinces who came yesterday from Cologne says that the election there of the Prince Bishop was being delayed (*si andava differendo*), and it was supposed that almost as a matter of necessity one of the canons of the most noble blood amongst them, but of Lutheran opinions, would be elected, because the other Catholics had not sufficient interest to succeed like their competitors, who were favoured by the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Cleves, and the Landgrave of Hesse, and other Princes of the "Circle" of Saxony.

King Philip has sent an order to Upper Burgundy to have a demand made of the people there for 50,000 crowns, which they are accustomed to pay every three years.

The Duke of Florence has again sent his ambassador several complaints made by the Siennese against the Cardinal of Burgos [Francisco Mendoza y Bovadilla], reminding his Majesty that should his right reverend lordship remain Governor there, the King might run risk of losing his popularity at Sienna, whilst on the other hand the ambassador of that Republic at this Court bestows great praise on the Cardinal, saying the "Signori della Balìa" had written to him that since he has been Governor there he has spent about 50,000 crowns of his own on several good works; so it is inferred that between the said Cardinal and the Duke of Florence there must be a bad understanding, and consequently his right reverend lordship evinces a wish for removal in like manner as his Excellency does not wish him to remain, and for this reason it is said that in a few

1556

days the King will send thither Don Alvaro de Sande,* who was heretofore appointed by his Majesty warder (*castellano*) and colonel of the Spanish infantry.

Some days ago Don Ruy Gomez requested the ambassador from the Duke of Mantua to write to his Excellency and exhort him to take for wife the eldest daughter of the Duchess of Lorraine, his Majesty's cousin, and the Duke replied that he did not intend to marry, as at present he is not of strong constitution (*per non trovarsi di complessione al presente ben disposta*), showing that on this account he had renounced the contract (*partito*) with a daughter of the Duke of Ferrara. The Duke also desired the ambassador, should anything more be said on the subject, adroitly to silence it, and I understand that this decision, and much more the one formed by his Excellency to make terms with the King of France about Montferrat with regard to his enjoying its revenues, has caused the privy council here no longer to evince their former trust in him.

Ghent, 18th October 1556.

Postscript.—It is said by Don Bernardino de Mendoza that the Governor of Caino (*sic*) has placed under arrest 100 soldiers and their captain for having announced their intention to the French of giving them one of the gates of that place, and for this purpose, at Montreuil, four leagues from Hesdin, there are some 6,000 troops including horse and foot.

I have also heard that an express has been sent to Don Juan de Ayala† at Genoa, desiring him to proceed instantly to your Serenity to reside with you until the return of the Ambassador Vargas.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

668. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By the return of Francesco Piamontese and of another courier who was sent after him with the news of the Emperor's landing in the port of Laredo on the 28th ult., the Queen was again assured that the King was making his arrangements to come back, having already given orders for the stable, the pages, and part of the household to proceed on their way; so the Queen is marvellously comforted, these advices having redoubled her hope, though, with the exception of her Majesty, there is nevertheless no one, either in the palace or out of it, who, knowing the difficulty and inevitable impediments, and not seeing greater signs, anticipates anything but delay and dilatoriness, although the ships have been already sent to the Calais passage (*al passo di Calais*).

Peter Carew has come out of the Tower, and is released entirely, after having compounded (*dopo haver accordato*) for 2,000 marks, and paid a part of his debt to the crown. The governess of the Lady Elizabeth has also been set at liberty, but deprived not only of her office as governess, but forbidden ever again to go to her

* See name in Foreign Calendar. 1553-1558, p. 323.

† Query, brother of the historian Don Luis de Avila, the name being written indifferently, Avila or Ayala.

1556.

ladyship ; the knight [Sir Thomas Pope], who was placed as keeper in her residence, being also removed ; and it is said that she will soon come to London, and perhaps to the Court.

A debt from the Queen, to the amount of 40,000*l.*, having fallen due in Flanders last month, the merchants adventurers of London had to pay it, and relieve her (*pagarle et liberarla*).

The last advices of the 4th instant, received by Cardinal Pole from the Abbot [Parpaglia] in France, confirm the hope of peace, should the affairs of Italy with his Holiness come to an adjustment, as sought, he says, by the French, and that notwithstanding all the provisions making for war, it had been determined to hold another conference, the most Christian King on his part having already made choice of his commissioners.

London, 19th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

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CONTENTS.

CALENDARS OF STATE PAPERS, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	Page
CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING						2
THE MIDDLE AGES -	-	-	-	-	-	9
PUBLICATIONS OF THE RECORD COMMISSIONERS, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	27
WORKS PUBLISHED IN PHOTOZINCOGRAPHY	-	-	-	-	-	31

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As far back as the year 1800, a Committee of the House of Commons recommended that Indexes and Calendars should be made to the Public Records, and thirty-six years afterwards another Committee of the House of Commons reiterated that recommendation in more forcible words; but it was not until the incorporation of the State Paper Office with the Public Record Office that the Master of the Rolls found himself in a position to take the necessary steps for carrying out the wishes of the House of Commons.

On 7 December 1855, he stated to the Lords of the Treasury that although "the Records, State Papers, and Documents in his charge constitute the most complete and perfect series of their kind in the civilized world," and although "they are of the greatest value in a historical and constitutional point of view, yet they are comparatively useless to the public, from the want of proper Calendars and Indexes."

Acting upon the recommendations of the Committees of the House of Commons above referred to, he suggested to the Lords of the Treasury that to effect the object he had in view it would be necessary for him to employ a few persons fully qualified to perform the work which he contemplated.

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These volumes contain summaries of all State Papers and Correspondence relating to the reign of Henry VIII., in the Public Record Office, of those formerly in the State Paper Office, in the British Museum, the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and other Public Libraries; and of all letters that have appeared

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Vol. I.—1558-1559.

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The Carew Papers relating to Ireland, deposited in the Lambeth Library, are unique, and of great importance. The Calendar (now completed) cannot fail to be welcome to all students of Irish history.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* G. A. BERGENROTH. 1862-1868.

Vol. I.—Hen. VII.—1485-1509.

Vol. II.—Hen. VIII.—1509-1525.

Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II.

Mr. Bergenroth was engaged in compiling a Calendar of the Papers relating to England preserved in the archives of Simancas in Spain, and the corresponding portion removed from Simancas to Paris. Mr. Bergenroth also visited Madrid, and examined the Papers there, bearing on the reign of Henry VIII. The first volume contains the Spanish Papers of the reign of Henry VII.; the second volume, those of the first portion of the reign of Henry VIII. The Supplement contains new information relating to the private life of Queen Katharine of England; and to the projected marriage of Henry VII. with Queen Juana, widow of King Philip of Castile, and mother of the Emperor Charles V.

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Vol. III., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1525-1526.

Vol. III., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1527-1529.

Upon the death of Mr. Bergenroth, Don Pascual de Gayangos was appointed to continue the Calendar of the Spanish State Papers. He has pursued a similar plan to that of his predecessor, but has been able to add much valuable matter from Brussels and Vienna, with which Mr. Bergenroth was unacquainted.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. 1864-1877.

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Vol. V.—1534-1554.

Vol. VI., Part I.—1555-1556.

Mr. Rawdon Brown's researches have brought to light a number of valuable documents relating to various periods of English history; his contributions to historical literature are of the most interesting and important character.

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CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. III.—1586-1588.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FÆDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. III.—Appendix and Index.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. IV.—1651, &c.

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CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XVI.—1640.

CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS relating to IRELAND, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London. *Edited by* HENRY SAVAGE SWEETMAN, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland). Vol. III.

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The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1837 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

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Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. *CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON*. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. *LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR*. I.—*La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*. II.—*Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris*. III.—*Vita Æduardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit*. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARE, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., and probably written in the year 1245, on the occasion of the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between the years 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between the years 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. *MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA*; scilicet, I.—*Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*. II.—*Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ*. III.—*Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ*. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1858.

This volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It has been the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed.

5. *FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLIF CUM TRITICO*. Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER, of WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written, the disputes of the school-

men had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. *THE BUIK OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND ; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece ;* by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, and was written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends, and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for in such a work as this ; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true ; and the chronicle is valuable as a reflection of the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this metrical version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. *JOHANNIS CAPGRAVE LIBER DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS.* *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three distinct parts, each having its own separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, and extends from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, and extends from the accession of Henry I. in the year 1100, to the year 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of King Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world.

Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for the history of which period his work is of some value.

8. *HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS,* by THOMAS OF ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. *EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS) : Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366 ;* a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. HAYDON, Esq., B.A. 1858-1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially

of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH : Bernardi Andrea Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi ; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Maehado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in the year 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest in connexion with the period are given in an appendix.

11. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. Edited by CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859-1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and early part of the fifteenth centuries.

The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the fourteenth century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the twelfth, thirteenth, and early part of the fourteenth centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. Edited by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in the year 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and

comes down to the year 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, which are not to be elsewhere obtained, and some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the *Friesland Chronicle* of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859-1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. The "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologie*."

16. BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449-1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; OR, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Cadwalla at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A COLLECTION OF ROYAL AND HISTORICAL LETTERS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. 1399-1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. THE REPRESSOR OF OVER MUCH BLAMING OF THE CLERGY. By REGINALD PECOCK, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born

about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. *ANNALES CAMBRIÆ.* Edited by the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in the year 447, and come down to the year 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, which was also used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout, though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. *THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.* Vols. I., II., III., and IV. Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V. and VI. Edited by the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861-1873.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The *Topographia Hibernica* (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in the year 1183, the second in 1185-6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the *Topographia* of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The *Expugnatio Hibernica* was written about the year 1188 and may be regarded rather

as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history.

Vol. VI. contains the *Itinerarium Kambrice et Descriptio Kambrice*.

22. **LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND.** Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861-1864.

The letters and papers contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Dépôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the line of policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and such other provinces of France as had been acquired by Henry V. We may here trace, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared to read of its final overthrow.

23. **THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES.** Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* BENJAMIN THORPE, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to the year 1154, is justly the boast of England; for no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, either in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. **LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1861-1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from these documents is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. **LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time.** *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. **DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.** Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066-1200. Vol. III.; 1200-1327. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862-1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not

under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which the original portions are distinguished from those which are mere compilations. When possible, the sources are indicated from which such compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice has also been given of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. Vol. I., 1216-1235. Vol. II., 1236-1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SURREY, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.—1. THOMÆ WALSHINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272-1381; Vol. II., 1381-1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELowe ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMÆ WALSHINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIE PRECENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793-1290; Vol. II., 1290-1349; Vol. III., 1349-1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SÆCULO XV^{mo} FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIS JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTÆ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSRIPTUM; Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS, A JOHANNES WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS. 7. YPODIGNA NEUTRLE, A THOMÆ WALSHINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans, from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the third volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I., from the Cotton. MS. Faustina B. IX. in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219-231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cotton MS. Claudius E. III., fols. 306-331; an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291-1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground; a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300,

by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a short Chronicle, Willclm Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with *Annales Regum Angliæ*, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the fourth volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blanford, both from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the fifteenth century, from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum: with a Continuation, from the closing pages of Parker MS. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The eighth and ninth volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The tenth and eleventh volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events during those periods.

The twelfth volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V. The compiler has often substituted other authorities in place of those consulted in the preparation of his larger work.

29. *CHRONICON ABBATIE EVESHAMENSIS, AUCTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EVESHAMIE ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABBATE, A FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM 1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1418.* Edited by the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, M.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. *RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTORIALE DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLE.* Vol. I., 447-871. Vol. II., 872-1066. Edited by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863-1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355-1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Britannie*, in 1747.

31. *YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST.* Years 20-21, 21-22, 30-31, and 32-33. Edited and translated by ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1873.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, and have been held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and were received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great

legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of the attention of the general reader on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY, 1449-1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normannia: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conférences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham.* 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in the year 1450. The history commences with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ends with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The whole period embraced is less than two years.

33. HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRÆ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.* 1863-1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

4. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ. *Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A.* 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientie" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre; and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge.* 1864-1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. **ANNALES MONASTICI.** Vol. I.:—*Annales de Margan, 1066-1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066-1263; Annales de Burton, 1004-1263.* Vol. II.:—*Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519-1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1-1291.* Vol. III.:—*Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1-1297; Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042-1432.* Vol. IV.:—*Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016-1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066-1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1-1377.* Vol. V.:—*Index and Glossary. Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registry of the University, Cambridge. 1864-1869.*

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. **MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS.** From Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.*

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. **CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST.** Vol. I.:—*ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI.* Vol. II.:—*EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. Edited by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864-1865.*

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. **RECUEIL DES CRONIKES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN.** Vol. I.

Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399-1422. *Edited by* WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1864-1868.

40. A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WYRIN. Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by* WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471, after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III., IV., V., and VI. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, B.D., Vicar of St. Edward's, Cambridge, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865-1876.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. LE LIVRE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVRE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE. *Edited by* JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French.

It is supposed that Peter of Ickham must have been the author, but no certain conclusion on that point has been arrived at.

43. CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA, AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866-1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. *MATTHEI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR.* Vols. I., II., and III. 1067-1253. *Edited by* Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1866-1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. *LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455-1023.* *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by* EDWARD EDWARDS, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. *CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, from the EARLIEST TIMES to 1135; with a SUPPLEMENT, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150.* *Edited, with a Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked, year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. *THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I.* Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1866-1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that he lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum," in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, down to the death of Henry III., and in the third a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. *THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, or, THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN.* *Edited, with a Translation, by* JAMES HENTHORN TODD D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in

the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. *GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. THE CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169-1192*; known under the name of *BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH*. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. *MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD* (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY ANSTREY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. *CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDENE*. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868-1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (see No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work: it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. *WILLELMI MALMESBURIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE*. *Edited, from William of Malmesbury's Autograph MS., by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. *HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172-1320*. *Edited by* JOHN T. GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

54. **THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1014 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. Edited, with a Translation, by WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1871.**

The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on an island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

55. **MONUMENTA JURIDICA. THE BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY, WITH APPENDICES. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. Edited by SIR TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L. 1871-1876.**

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy, and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Pryne ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

56. **MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.:—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS BEKYNTON, SECRETARY TO HENRY VI., AND BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS. Edited, from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents, by the Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vols. I. and II. 1872.**

These curious volumes are of a very miscellaneous character, and were probably compiled under the immediate direction of Bekynton before he had attained to the Episcopate. They contain many of the Bishop's own letters, and several written by him in the King's name; as well as letters sent to himself while he was the Royal Secretary, and others addressed to the King. This work elucidates some obscure points in the history of the nation during the first half of the fifteenth century.

57. **MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS, MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI, CHRONICA MAJORA. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrar of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872-1876.**

This work contains the "Chronica Majora" of Matthew Paris, one of the most valuable and frequently consulted of the ancient English Chronicles. It is published from its commencement, for the first time. The editions by Archbishop Parker, and William Wats, severally begin at the Norman Conquest.

58. **MEMORIALE FRATRIS WALTERI DE COVENTRIA.—THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF WALTER OF COVENTRY. Vols. I. and II. Edited, from the MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1872-1873.**

This work, now printed in full for the first time, has long been a desideratum by Historical Scholars. The first portion, however, is not of much importance, being only a compilation from earlier writers. The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable and interesting.

59. **THE ANGLO-LATIN SATIRICAL POETS AND EPIGRAMMATISTS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY. Vols. I. and II. Now first collected and edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). 1872.**

The Poems contained in these volumes have long been known and appreciated as the best satires of the age in which their authors flourished, and were deservedly popular during the 13th and 14th centuries.

60. **MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII., FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.**

Vol. I. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM CAMPBELL, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1873.

This volume is valuable as illustrating the acts and proceedings of Henry VII. on ascending the throne, and shadows out the policy he afterwards adopted.

61. HISTORICAL PAPERS AND LETTERS FROM THE NORTHERN REGISTERS. *Edited by* JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1873.

The documents in this volume illustrate, for the most part, the general history of the north of England, particularly in its relation to Scotland.

62. REGISTRUM PALATINUM DUNELMENSE. THE REGISTER OF RICHARD DE KELLAWE, LORD PALATINE AND BISHOP OF DURHAM; 1311-1316. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1873-1875.

Bishop Kellawe's Register contains the proceedings of his prelate, both lay and ecclesiastical, and is the earliest Register of the Palatinate of Durham.

63. MEMORIALS OF SAINT DUNSTAN ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. *Edited, from various MSS., by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1874.

This volume contains several lives of Archbishop Dunstan, one of the most celebrated Primates of Canterbury. They open various points of Historical and Literary interest, without which our knowledge of the period would be more incomplete than it is at present.

64. CHRONICON ANGLIÆ, AB ANNO DOMINI 1328 USQUE AD ANNUM 1388, AUCTORE MONACHO QUODAM SANCTI ALBANI. *Edited by* EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and Assistant-Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 1874.

This chronicle gives a circumstantial history of the close of the reign of Edward III. which has hitherto been considered lost.

65. THÓMAS SAGA ERKIBYSKUPS. A LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET, IN ICELANDIC. Vol. I. *Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary, by* M. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, Sub-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. 1875.

This work is derived from the Life of Becket written by Benedict of Peterborough, and apparently supplies the missing portions in Benedict's biography.

66. RADULPHI DE COGGESHALL CHRONICON ANGLICANUM. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A. 1875.

This volume contains the "Chronicon Anglieanum," by Ralph of Coggeshall, the "Libellus de Expugnacione Terræ Sanctæ per Saladinum," usually ascribed to the same author, and other pieces of an interesting character.

67. MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THOMAS BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. 1875-1876.

This Publication, when completed, will comprise all contemporary materials for the history of Archbishop Thomas Becket. The first volume contains the life of that celebrated man, and the miracles after his death, by William, a monk of Canterbury. The second volume contains the life by Benedict of Peterborough; John of Salisbury; Alan of Tewkesbury; and Edward Grim.

68. RADULFI DE DICETO DECANI LUNDONIENSIS OPERA HISTORICA. THE HISTORICAL WORKS OF MASTER RALPH DE DICETO, DEAN OF LONDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, from the Original Manuscripts, by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1876.

The Historical Works of Ralph de Diceto are some of the most valuable materials for British History. The Abbreviationes Chronicorum extend from the Creation to 1147, and the Ymagines Historiarum to 1201.

In the Press.

- ROLL OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF IRELAND, 16 RICHARD II. *Edited by the Rev. JAMES GRAVES, A.B., Treasurer of St. Canice, Ireland.*
- THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Vol. VII. *Edited by the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire.*
- CHRONICLE OF ROBERT OF BRUNNE. *Edited by FREDERICK JAMES FURNIVALL, Esq., M.A., of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Barrister-at-Law.*
- CORPUS HISTORICUM EBORACENSE. CHRONICA PONTIFICUM ECCLESIE EBORACI AUCTORE THOMA STUBBS DOMINICANO; and other Documents relating to the Primacy of York. *Edited by JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society.*
- MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII., FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Vol. II. *Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM CAMPBELL, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.*
- REGISTER OF MALMESBURY ABBEY: PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. *Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London.*
- THE METRICAL CHRONICLE OF ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER. *Edited by WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A.*
- A COLLECTION OF SAGAS AND OTHER HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS relating to the Settlements and Descents of the Northmen on the British Isles. *Edited by Sir GEORGE WEBBE DASENT, D.C.L., Oxon., and M. GUDERAND VIGFUSSON, M.A.*
- THÓMAS SAGA ERKIBYSKUPS. A LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET, IN ICELANDIC. Vol. II. *Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary, by M. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge.*
- REGISTRUM PALATINUM DUNELMENSE. The Register of Richard de Kellawe, Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham; 1311-1316. Vol. IV. *Edited by Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.*
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